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THE GUILDS OF PEKING

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000 THE GUILDS OF PEKING

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To
ESSEF BEE
AND THE
CUBS

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FOREWORD*

121 INTEREST in research inevitably follows participation in social work in China. The intricacies and difficulties of the adjustments made imperative by contemporary changes in the social structure of that ancient nation become increasingly clear to those who have a practical part in facilitating such adjustments, and constitute a challenge to gain a clarifying knowledge of the underlying social, economic, and political situation.

For Westerners engaged in welfare work the essential differences between the social structure of old China and that of occidental social institutions are an added incentive for research to those who would hope to gain some measure of the nature and magnitude of the transformation so rapidly taking place. Those taking part in relief work soon realize that there are essential differences between the Chinese clan and the western family; those concerned with the problem of unemployment sooner or later come in touch with guild organization and control, so different from the economic system of the West; those seeking methods of reconstructing rural life discover the existence of clusters of villages constituting autonomous market-town areas, each a social and an economic unit, which must be understood before any successful projects can be carried out.

Familiarity with the social organization of old China and the resultant habits and attitudes of the people schooled in the old régime leads to a further question as to whether or not a more comprehensive knowledge of the ancient system of clan, village, and guild autonomy, with its consequent

121 group loyalty and purely local interest and activity, might not be a means of gaining a more fundamental understanding of the chaotic conditions incident to the transformation of this nation into a new economic and political unity. Such knowledge might also throw some light on how the inevitable fusion of Eastern and Western cultural values might more harmoniously be brought about.

It is hoped that this study of one of these local groupings of ancient Cathay, namely, the guilds, may contribute in some measure to this more fundamental understanding of age-long Chinese culture and of the process of social change now taking place.

123 The strength as well as the weakness of this study is its indirect character. It reproduces the frank and truthful reports of the guildsmen themselves, invaluable in any accurate description of these organizations. Of equal importance, however, is the detailed first-hand observation of the activities of the guildsmen. Such a further study could best be made by Chinese investigators trained in scientific research technique, who would not meet the suspicion and misunderstanding which a Westerner would encounter. Should this preliminary investigation lead to further research of this kind, its primary object will have been accomplished.

000 I am especially indebted to my former student Hung-Chun Chang, and to his uncle, the scholar-priest, whose many interviews and reports have supplied the information upon which much of this study is based. Mr. Sidney D. Gamble has materially helped, first by his early study of the Peking guilds to which we have constantly referred, next by generously allocating two of his research staff to spend a summer on our project, and more recently by permitting the reproduction of his own description of a meeting of the Blind Guild. Mention should be made also of the work of my colleagues in the Department of Sociology of Yenching Uni-

versity, Peking, Dr. Leonard H. L. Hsu and Mr. An-Che Li, 000 as well as that of students who helped in checking up some of this material and by translation of documents. For material on recent economic development and contemporary changes in guild life I am principally indebted to Dr. Ta Chen, professor of Sociology at Tsing Hua College, Peking, the leading authority in China on the labor movement. Valuable information was also given me by the Government Bureau of Economic Information. I am also indebted to the Laura Spelman Rockefellar Memorial for the grant of a fellowship that made possible the completion of this study.

To those who gave me academic guidance in bringing some order and coherence to a mass of imported data, my sincere thanks—to Professors Franklin H. Giddings, William F. Ogburn, Samuel McC. Lindsay and Robert E. Chaddock. Most generous of all in detailed suggestions and time-consuming conferences was Professor A. A. Tenney. His, too, was the suggestion of Mrs. W. E. Harned as one experienced in eleventh-hour methods of preparing manuscript for the printer. Dr. Vernon C. Monroe and Dr. Frank A. Fetter, both of Princeton University, and Dr. Austin P. Evans of Columbia aided in the evaluation of this oriental material through their familiarity with European guild life and history.

J. S. Burgess

June, 1928.

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INTRODUCTION

The study of Chinese guilds has a wide range of theoretical and practical interest. To the economic historian it brings fresh material on contemporary economic organizations that are similar in many respects to the guilds of Medieval Europe. It may even throw some light on much disputed problems of medieval history. Of interest, also, is the understanding that such a study gives of the basic form of the economic structure of China and of the effects of the impact of Western industrial and commercial expansion.

To the economist the study is of interest because it affords a glimpse of contemporary pre-capitalistic, industrial and commercial organization and reveals a process of transformation from one economic system to another.

To the student of political science the relation of government to the guild system is of interest. The way in which a non-governmental group assumed and carried out functions considered in the West to pertain to municipal government, throws light upon the nature of political control.

To the sociologist the study is of significance because it depicts an early type of organization in industry, government and religion and also portrays the disintegration of an ancient social organization.

Such an investigation is also one of practical import to all interested in the early and harmonious readjustment of Chinese social life at a time of chaotic political, economic and social transformation.

Moreover, light may be thrown upon such questions as the following:

121 (a) What forces are causing the weakening and dissolution of the guilds?

(b) How long, in its present form, will the ancient guild system last?

(c) What types of guilds are undergoing modification, and of what sort?

(d) What types of guilds are disappearing?

(e) What forms of industrial or commercial organization are taking the place of ancient guilds?

(f) What attitudes and values, characteristic of the old guild system, are being preserved in new forms of industrial organization?

(g) From the viewpoint of possible social engineering, is it desirable and practicable to reorganize the guilds in a form better adapted than the present organization to meet contemporary social needs?

(h) What are the social and the economic consequences of the breaking-up of the old guilds?

A. THE USE OF THE TERM "GUILD"

*441 The word "guild,"[1] is defined in Webster's *New Inter-*

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128 [1] The use of the spelling "guild" rather than "gild" is purely arbitrary. The four dictionaries consulted give both spellings, two preferring "guild" and two "gild." Webster's *New International Dictionary* (1923) and J. A. H. Murray's *New English Dictionary* (1901) give "guild, and gild," while Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard Dictionary* (1927) and the *Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia* (1915) give "gild, guild." All authorities trace the word back to the root verb "gildan," meaning to pay. Blackstone's "Commentary" 1, 473, explains the term as follows: "Gild signified among the Saxons a fraternity derived from the verb 'gildan,' to pay, because every man paid his share towards the expenses of the community. And hence their place of meeting is frequently called the guild, or guild hall." By this definition Blackstone seems to imply that "gild" is the name of the association while "guild" signifies the place of meeting. This distinction, however, is not made in any other definition of guilds which we have discovered. Writers on

national Dictionary as follows: "An association of men belonging to the same class, or engaged in kindred pursuits, or with certain common interests or aims, formed for mutual aid and protection, or for carrying out of a common purpose."

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It is in this very general sense that the term is here used, without any assumption of the identity of Chinese guilds with similar organizations found in the records of European medieval history. Indeed, a much more accurate but far more cumbersome term would be "handcraft, professional and trade associations." The term "guild" is chosen, however, both because these organizations certainly fall under the very general terms of the above definition and also because many writers on China have already made use of this term in designating the types of associations here described. This study may in a sense be considered an endeavor to portray more clearly the nature of organizations of the three types dealt with. At the close of this investigation are summarized some of the outstanding characteristics of these organizations.[1]

It is necessary to make clear a further restriction of the types of organization dealt with by an enumeration of the various types of guilds at present existing in China, of which we have selected three. We find the term applied to seven different types of organizations by various authors. Table I gives the classification made by five writers on Chinese guilds. The following brief description gives the main features of these different types.

China vary in the use of these two terms. Morse and Macgowan use the form "gild," while E. T. Williams and many other recent writers on China use the form "guild." Works by these writers are listed in the bibliography, page 262. It is clear that the meaning of the two terms is identical.

[1] *Cf.*, pp. 239-240.

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TABLE I

CLASSIFICATION OF CHINESE GUILDS BY VARIOUS AUTHORS

Our Designation	1 "The Religious Fraternity"	2 Professional	3 Craft	4 Commercial	5 & 6 Provincial		7 The Gild Merchant
					Social	Economic	
Macgowan, Morse	"The Religious Fraternity"	Labor	Unions Craft Gilds		Merchant Gilds The Provincial Club		The Gild Merchant
Gamble ...			Craft Gilds		Provincial Gilds		
Williams ..		Craft Gilds		Merchant Gilds	Provincial Gilds		Community Gild
Ta Chen ..		Craft Gilds		Commercial Gilds	Provincial Gilds Social	Provincial Gilds Economic	The Gild Merchant

1. "The Religious Fraternity." This term is used by Morse only. He says in this connection:[1]

> The gild, in its restricted sense of a solely religious and benevolent fraternity, also exists in China, under the name of *Hwei*, or "Association," the name also given to the secret anti-dynastic and revolutionary societies which have permeated the empire for a century past and more. These religious associations are formed to do honour to a designated demi-god or canonised worthy, as was the case with the early English trade fraternities, each of which was dedicated to a certain saint.

2. The Professional Guild. We have coined this term to indicate a subdivision of the craft guilds, namely, guilds that sell their services rather than manufacture goods.

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[1] H. B. Morse, *The Gilds of China* (New York, 1909).

Under this classification are included such groups as the 467 *
actors, the barbers, the story tellers and the blind minstrels. 441 *

3. The Craft Guild. This category includes societies 128
composed of workmen who make articles by hand.

4. The Commercial Guild. Societies of merchants of one occupation who sell goods, retail or wholesale, come under this heading.

5. The Provincial Guild (social). Morse defines what he terms the "Provincial Club" as follows:[1]

> The prime characteristic of the provincial club is that its membership consists entirely of officials and merchants foreign to the province in which it is situated, and to which they have been called by their official duties or by their business.[1]

In giving this definition Morse includes both officials and merchants. In Peking there is a type of provincial guild known as the *Hui-kwan,* which is purely social in nature. Mr. Gamble, who has written extensively on social and economic conditions in China, describes the provincial guild hall as follows:[2]

> The Provincial Gild Halls are among the social gathering places in Peking. These halls, and there are 413 of them, all but six of which are in the South City, were built during the Manchu Dynasty so that the natives of the different provinces and districts who came to Peking for the literary examinations might have some place to live or at least meet their fellow provincials. Now that the examinations are no longer given, the gild halls are used as clubhouses for those who come from the provinces. Peking has so many officials, expectant officials, students and other non-permanent residents, and the people from different sections of the country differ so widely in cus-

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[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey* (New York, 1921), pp. 232-233.

*441 toms, tastes and even language, that it is but natural that these
*417 provincial halls should hold a very important place in the social
128 life of the city, even though they have no special recreation facilities. The gild halls, some of which are very fine buildings, also serve as inns or hotels for their provincials and are housing some 25,000 people. The following list gives the number of gild halls built by the cities and districts of the various provinces.

Anhuei	39	Kwangsi	7
Chekiang	38	Kwangtung	36
Chihli	12	Kweichow	7
Fukien	24	Shansi	34
Honan	14	Shantung	7
Hunan	23	Shensi and Kansu	26
Hupeh	26	Szechuan	15
Kiangsi	69	Yunnan	9
Kiangsu	27		
		Total	.413

6. The Provincial Guild (economic). As Morse pointed out, frequently the provincial guilds, composed of men from one province, district or city, are societies for the protection and promotion of the industry or commerce of its members. Both Morse and Macgowan describe in detail the operations of many of these guilds in South China, as, for example, the organization of Ningpo merchants residing in Shanghai.

7. The Guild Merchant. Morse defines this type of organization as follows:[1]

> Of the gild merchant, organized by the entire body of a locality to regulate the trade of the locality and to divert its course to their own benefit, there are only three well-marked instances in the history of gilds in China.[1]

The three organizations of this type which Macgowan, Morse and Williams describe are the Great Guilds of Newchwang and Swatow and the Canton Co-Hong.

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[1] Morse, *op. cit.*

This study deals entirely with the guilds classified as professional, craft and commercial; the other types are discussed only in the treatment of the future of the guild.

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The guilds that we are dealing with in Peking are local associations of craftsmen, merchants or professionals, organized for the purpose of furthering their mutual interests, primarily economic, and of mutually protecting the members of their respective crafts, trades or professions, and of working out regulations and procedures to be followed by the members with such ends in view. So far as the craft and trade guilds are concerned, there is great variety of form. At one extreme there are associations, monopolistic in their local area, composed of masters and workers, jointly controlled by all the members and knit into close fellowship by a common and distinctive religious worship. In such associations, detailed regulations regarding prices and wages are enforced; failure to observe these regulations is followed by punishment by fine or expulsion. At the other extreme are guilds actually controlled by the shop or store managers who work together for their mutual advantage. In these guilds membership is not compulsory for those in a common trade or craft and there is no religious bond of common worship. Such associations have no representation of labor in the common council and frequently have few regulations. There is, in fact, little to distinguish this type from employers' associations of the modern kind.

In the case of all guilds studied, there was discovered no permanent separate labor organization as distinct from the organization of the managers. While in many cases the employers or managers alone compose the guilds, the interests of the entire group of merchants or craftsmen (including merchants, workmen and apprentices) are theoretically the province of guild regulation.

THE CHINESE TERMINOLOGY

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The Chinese terminology used in designating the associations studied varies.[1] The most common name used is " hang " or " hang hui." The Chinese word " hang " is defined by Williams [2] as " a row, a line; a series or order; a class, a guild, a trade; a company of a hundred, or a squad of twenty-five; in Canton, a store or warehouse of several divisions; a mercantile establishment often called ' hong ' by foreigners from the Canton pronunciation." The root meaning is clear. The term designates some sort of class or group. When this expression follows the name of a trade or a craft, such as mason or cloth, it clearly means an organization of those of the one trade or craft mentioned. The word " hui " is a common term for any type of society or association. Twenty-seven of the forty-two guilds studied are designated as " hang hui " or " hang."

The word " kung " inserted between " hang " and " hui " is defined by Williams [3] as " public, common, open." When used with " hui " it simply designates a public society of some sort.

The term " tzo " used only in the case of one group, the Kitchen Coolies Guild, is the common character for " act, do or make," but here refers to " operations, work, workmanship; workman." [4] It designates a society of this type of workmen.

Six of the commercial guilds in one or more combinations use the term " shang," the usual character for commerce or trade. " Shang Hui " means trade association.

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[1] *Cf.* Table I, p. 16.

[2] S. W. Williams, *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (Peking, 1909), p. 334.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 482.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 829.

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TABLE II

CHINESE NAMES OF THE GUILDS STUDIED

Name	Number of times used			
	Craft	Professional	Commercial	Total
Hang	10	4		20
Hang Hui	3	1	3	7
Hang Kung Hui	1			1
Tzo		1		1
Shang Hui			4	4
Hang Shang Hui			1	1
Shang Tung Yeh Kung Hui			1	1
Tung Yeh Kung Hui			1	1
Kung Hui			1	1
Kung Li Hui			1	1
Yen Chiu She		1		1
Special Names related to founder, etc	2*	1†		3
	16	8	18	42

* Lu Pan Sheng Hui.

† San Hwang Hui.

" Hang Shang Hui " merely prefixes the term with the common expression for guild (" hang "), while the cumbersome term " Shang Tung Yeh Kung Hui " literally designates a " like or common business or occupational public commercial association." One group uses this name with the omission of the " shang " or " commercial." Another group uses the all-inclusive title " Kung Li Hui," which literally means " Publicly Established Association," and three use special names related to the mythical founder of the guild, two of them inserting the term " sheng " or " holy " before the name of the guild founder. The Story Tellers use the term " Yen Chiu She " or the " Examine and Study Association."

B. The Social Setting of the Guilds

618 An understanding of the place and setting of the guilds in China involves some appreciation of the structure of ancient Chinese civilization. Many such studies have been included in general works on China[1] and it will be unnecessary here to do more than merely indicate certain well-known features of Chinese social organization by way of general orientation.

THE FAMILY

Growing out of an agricultural economy, the paternalistic clan system became the fundamental group unit of Chinese social life. A detailed study of the ramifications of this system and its relation to the villages of South China has been made with thoroughness by D. H. Kulp, in his *Country Life in South China: the Sociology of Familism.* Blood relationship is the primary basis for the familistic alignments. Kulp points this out as follows:[2]

> As emphasized again and again, both historically and at present, blood is the fundamental determiner of relationships, obligations, rights, attitudes and values. It is the term of reference for all matters in village life. It is the chief category in the village universe of discourse. It sets the limits of the theoretical community; it fixes the physical characteristics of the village community in all its artificial aspects and is embodied in all significant forms of collective representation. It is the solidary unit of the village.

Kulp defines carefully the different senses in which the term " family " is used. The " sib," the ceremonial family, or what less accurately is usually called the clan, is the unilateral kinship group, tracing descent from the male. The village studied by Kulp had a total population of 650, and, exclusive of a few engaged in business, all were members of the one " sib " with the same family name. 618

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[1] *Cf.* Bibliography, p. 262.

[2] Kulp, *Country Life in South China: The Sociology of Familism* (New York, 1925), p. 135.

Birth establishes membership in the " sib." Adoption is practiced as a form of fictitious birth, and of course marriage gives women a status as members of the " sib."

As the " sib " increases in size, it splits into subdivisions, each branch worshiping the common ancestor, presumably the founder of the branch or the original ancestor of the entire " sib." These religious units in the South have their own ancestral temples where in fixed seasons worship of the dead is conducted.

What is commonly referred to as the Chinese family is 596 what Kulp refers to as the economic family.

> . . . it is a group of people who on the basis of blood or marriage connections live together as an economic unit. It may be a natural-family or a number of natural-families which have not divided the ancestral inheritance. Occasionally it may coincide with the branch-family or religious-family. . . .
>
> Ordinarily an economic-family is composed of father, mother or mothers, grandparents—frequently a grandmother—the children of the father, and the wives of the children with their young children. This covers four generations. In such cases the groups tend to be large. The number of persons may vary from a single person to more than twenty in Phenix Village. In some villages nearby such groups contain more than one hundred persons. . . .
>
> The economic-family is really the working unit of the village community. While the religious-family functions primarily for the stability of the community, the economic-family provides its maintenance. Within this unit there is in general resources a limited form of communism. The administration of these resources lies in the hands of the *chia-chang* or head under the

596 supervision of the *chia-chang* of the religious-families or the village leaders.

594 When the natural-family coincides with the economic-family then the father is head and assumes full responsibility to the higher *chia-chang* or village leaders for the conduct of the members of his group.[1]

The natural family was merely a part of these other and larger groupings.

> . . . It provides biological continuity of the sib and other groups and feeds members into the other groups. Actually it is fundamental in the village, but from the point of view of theory embodied in tradition and convention, little account is taken of it for itself. It may be called the natural-family or the marriage-group.[2]

It cannot be over-emphasized that this intricate and comprehensive system is the one great pattern of Chinese social life. It is recognized by the Chinese sages as the basic social grouping. For the great masses of the people, their interests — social, economic, religious — center largely here.

As Kulp points out, the social system was one which exalts age and puts the control in the hands of the elders. "The spiritual community" (the recently or long deceased heads of the clan), as well as the original founder, reinforces the authority of its successors, for all their spirits are supposed to watch over the destinies of the clan.

THE VILLAGE

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361 The next basic grouping of the Chinese social life is the village where approximately 80 or 90 per cent[3] of the people of China live. These villages are large or small clusters of farmers' homes, surrounded by fields.

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[1] Kulp, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 149.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[3] Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 50.

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farmers' homes, surrounded by fields. In the village studied by Kulp the population was almost entirely composed of one "sib." A few merchants had established themselves there but were not really considered as members of the community.

In North China the villages with which the writer has come into close contact are composed not of single family clans but rather of groups of economic families. There is also throughout North China an absence of the ancestral halls. There is, however, an emphasis on the status of the members of the old accepted families and a tendency to disregard the more recent immigrants into the community and to consider them as outsiders.

In Yen Chiu Chen, a market town of 2,300 inhabitants situated thirty miles east of Peking, the local officials in speaking of the population of the town omitted entirely to mention 700 persons composing the most of the merchant population. They had drifted into the village some time within the last 100 years and were not considered as members of the town! The largest family in the town living under one set of roofs comprised thirty persons. The number in the average economic family was six.

At Mo Shih Kou, a village some twenty miles to the north of Peking, there were three or four prominent wealthy families, relatively larger than the others, whose heads practically dominated the affairs of the village.

At Chien Ying, a village situated fifty miles east of Peking, Miss Jean Dickinson found only two large families, one household composed of thirty-seven and the other of forty-three. The average of the other families was six or seven.[1]

A student at Yenching University who investigated his own native town of Pai Ta Chai in Chien An Hsien located

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[1] Jean Dickinson, *Observations on Social Life in a North China Village* (Peking, 1924).

621 near Tang Shan, Chihli Province, reports that the elders of the village told him that this town was settled in the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618-905). The names of the original settlers — two clans — were Chiang and Chang. The former clan has entirely disappeared as far as is known. There is only one living descendant of the latter and his whereabouts is unknown. The greater part of the population, but by no means all, are named Li, a clan which emigrated to this village at the time of the Third Emperor of the Ming Dynasty (1403-1425).

A study of these villages would indicate the truth of Admiral Tsai Ting Kan's explanation of the difference in the nature of the population in North and South Chinese villages. In North China the successive invasions of the Manchus and the Mongolians have destroyed the continuity of the family clan system either by exterminating the members of the original clans or by forcing them to emigrate south. In the South, far distant from these waves of invasion, the same clans have had more permanent abode in their original towns and villages.

In North China a study of the life of the villages reveals many common characteristics. Villages are composed of a cluster of families rather than of one clan. These families vary from something approaching the larger "sib" to the 622 economic family. The head men of the villages are chosen from the heads of the family groups because of their general standing or "tse ke." This Chinese expression denotes a combination of age, wealth, learning and general effectiveness. The village heads are not elected in any mechanical way, but when a head man resigns or dies it is generally apparent which outstanding person would naturally assume control of the village affairs. This person is appointed at an informal conference of the important family heads.

In the internal life of the village, common affairs, such 623
as the lesser legal disputes and providing the village teacher for the children, are in the hands of the village elders, an informal group of the older family heads who act as advisers of the headman of the village. The chief occupation is agriculture, and the clothing is frequently made from cotton grown in the local area. The religious life of the villagers is to a large extent confined to the worship of the ancestors in the homes and to the worship at the village temple, which also has its annual festival.

Certain group activities are engaged in by the villagers 625
under the direction of the elders. The most common of these is the organization and work of the "Ching Miao Hui" or "Society for the Protection of the Growing Crops." Each family is requested to supply a certain number of youths to watch in turn over the growing crops. Frequently, also, families are asked to supply able-bodied men for the local militia to protect the village from bandits. The representa- 623
tion of the Chinese village as a democracy has been greatly overdone. As a matter of fact, it is a little oligarchy, controlled by the heads of the more important families. Among these heads there is a large degree of cooperation and counsel, but the people as a whole have practically nothing to say about the affairs of the village. In dealing with officials, the village headman represents the entire village unit.

THE MARKET TOWN AREA

Each village is linked up with a local market-town area. 438
To this town on certain fixed days each month the farmer may take his excess produce for sale and here he may buy farm implements, grain, cattle, cloth or other products which he needs. Frequently the local areas specialize in producing certain goods, gold work, agricultural implements, cloth, jewelry, or other products. For the most part, how-

438 ever, the economic life of the market area is self-sufficient. The limited excess products of the villages in the district supply goods for the needs of the area.

*441 In these market towns there are small "Chambers of Commerce" of modern origin (*Shang Hui*) that have to do with making the regulations for marketing goods on the given days and also with regulating the stores and shops that grow up in the market town itself. It was found that in the above-mentioned village of Yen Chiu certain government taxes, such as the wine and tobacco taxes, were collected by the Chamber of Commerce.

THE TOWN

438 621 632 The Chinese walled towns or cities are merely outgrowths of the market towns or enlarged trading centers, many of which have prestige because they have become the political center of the county or of a larger area and are the headquarters of the local prefect.[1]

*441 *467 The guilds of the type described in this paper are, so far as has been discovered, confined to the towns and cities. It must not be forgotten, however, that the apprentices in these guilds come largely from the country and bring with them the clan and village background above described. The walled towns, moreover, are still the centers for the markets for the surrounding rural areas, which are held on fixed days in each month.

162 The *China Year Book* for 1926 lists 36 cities with a population each of 1,000,000. There are some 1,500 cities in China with a total of about 75,000,000 inhabitants.[2] Most of the city population is engaged in industrial, commercial or political activities.

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[1] *Cf.* Williams, *China, Yesterday and Today* (New York, 1923), and Tao and Leong, *Village and Town Life in China* (London, 1915).

[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

The majority of the town population live by their handicraft, working in small shops . . . open on the narrow alleys of the native cities. . . . A tremendous amount of work is done in these front shops. . . . Passing down a street you see carpenters, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, metal workers, furniture makers, ivory carvers, lacquer workers, fan makers, kingfisher feather workers, embroiderers, coffin makers, all at work in the front shops. Almost every form of productive activity, save those processes which need a large plant and special conditions, may be seen as one passes along almost any Chinese street. . . . In these small industries there may be a certain number of hired persons, and apprentices are frequently taken in and trained. . . .The best of such industries are like large families. It has been estimated that no more than 5 per cent to 10 per cent of the population are families engaged in handicrafts, some 8,000,000 persons being actually so employed.[1] 438

Until very recently practically all manufactured goods sold in China were made by the guilds. Even today the total imports average less than two dollars American currency per head, which indicates that manufacture is still confined largely to the guilds. 438 441* 467*

Although it is anticipating the detailed description of the guilds, it should be mentioned that there are close similarities in clan, village and guild organization and in the resultant characteristic attitudes of the members of these groups. The paternalistic control by the elders, the solidarity in the face of official interference and the extreme "localism" or group-confined interest of the clan, village and guild are all similar. There is a close correspondence between the clan worship of its ancestors and the guild worship of its founder.[2] [794]

Although not so numerous as the agricultural group, the

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[1] C. L. Malone, *New China* (London, 1927), Part II, pp. 2-3.

[2] *Cf.*, pp. 181-182.

*441 *467 438 inhabitants of these industrial and commercial centers — the Chinese cities—performed a very important function in the life of ancient China.

These cities, which for the most part were the places of residence of the local officials, were economically autonomous. Not only was their manufacturing carried on by the local crafts, but their food came from the immediately adjacent countryside and frequently they maintained their own financial systems and special forms of taxation.

Elsewhere[1] has been discussed the effect on the process of adjustment to Western economic and cultural aggression of the Chinese attitudes resultant from this ancient social pattern, with its paternalistic control by the elders, its group solidarity and purely local interest.

The guilds are one expresion of this pattern. Guild organization is sufficiently extensive throughout China, and guild membership sufficiently numerous, to make this study of significance, provided the guilds studied are sufficiently like the guilds of other cities. Although no detailed study has been made of the guilds in any other city, references made in general works on China, the few general studies made of the guilds and the reports of our own investigators on the guilds in Foochow and Nanking all indicate that the organization and functions of industrial, commercial and professional guilds are very similar throughout China.

POPULATION PRESSURE

161 In addition to a consideration of the organization of clan, village and town, if the guild is to be pictured in its total setting two other factors should be discussed, namely, population pressure and the governmental system.

The facts collected by W. H. Mallory in *China, Land of*

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[1] J. S. Burgess, "The New Cycle of Cathay and America's Part in it," *The Survey Graphic*, May 1, 1926, p. 183.

Famine,[1] show clearly the undoubted over-population of wide areas in North China. A careful study of the cost of living and of family budgets for unskilled laborers and farmers, and also of the available food supply in certain areas of North China, shows that there is frequently in large districts a shortage of food.[2] The desire for sons to reverence the spirits of the departed, combined with the custom of early marriage, has in certain areas been the cause of a population increase greater than the land, under prevailing agricultural methods, could support. The result of this situation, coupled with lack of adequate communications and industrial development, has naturally caused a surplus of labor both in the agricultural districts and in the adjoining cities.[3] This surplus labor is an important factor in understanding the necessity for the monopolistic features of guild organization. 161 464

GOVERNMENT AND THE GUILDS

In contrasting the guilds of Europe with those of China, Morse claims that the principal difference between the two is that whereas in Europe the guildsmen were very closely related to local government, in China they have no such connection, but, on the contrary, frequently stand as a united body opposed to the encroachments of the official.[4] It is therefore evident that in considering the background of Chinese guilds it is essential that we have in mind the official system of that country and the resulting pressure upon the guilds by tax collectors. 467* 441*

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[1] Mallory, *China, Land of Famine* (New York, 1926), pp. 7-20.

[2] C. B. Malone and J. B. Tayler, *The Study of Chinese Rural Economy,* China International Relief Commission Publications, Ser. B, No. 10 (Peking, 1924); C. G. Dittmer, "An Estimate of the Chinese Standard of Living in China," *Quart. Journ. of Economics,* vol. 33, 1918, pp. 107-128.

[3] Mallory, *op. cit.,* pp. 20-34.

[4] Morse, *op. cit.,* pp. 5-6.

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642 It is not necessary in this study to give a detailed description of the ancient systems of Chinese government. S. Wells Williams,[1] H. B. Morse[2] and many others have outlined this ancient regime. The governmental structure had four main divisions: (1) the Emperor and the court; (2) a system of government boards and bureaus at Peking; (3) the provincial government composed of viceroy or governor and his staff of officials appointed by the central
634 government; (4) the various subdivisions of the provincial
642 government which have as their smallest governmental unit the *Hsien*, which has been variously translated as township or county. This *Hsien* was composed of a walled city which was the county seat for the surrounding rural area. The *Hsien* magistrate, or prefect, because of his close relations to the people, was known as the "Father and Mother of the People."[3] He was (1) the judge of the district, controlling the police, enforcing the law and punishing offenders, (2) the collector of taxes, (3) the registrar of lands and (4) the governmental famine commissioner who saw to it that in time of famine the people were fed from the public granaries, which it was his duty to keep well filled.

After reading any of the detailed descriptions of what these prefects were supposed to do, one would imagine that the people of China were ruled in every detail of their life by the county official. Earlier in this study[4] it has been shown, however, that the facts are just the opposite. Morse describes the actual situation in these words:

> These are the principal functions of the Mayor of the Chinese

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[1] S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1907).

[2] Morse, *The Trade and Administration of China* (New York, 1913).

[3] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[4] *Cf.*, pp. 26-27.

These are the principal functions of the Mayor of the Chinese

> municipium, and under the paternal government of this Father and Mother of the People" the ruled might be expected to be a body of abject slaves. This is far from being the case. In most countries the people may be divided into the law-abiding 634 and the lawless; in China a third division must be noted—those 626 who, though innocent of offense, come within the meshes of the law through the machinations of enemies. This, however, only serves to redress the balance, since the Chinese are essentially a law-abiding people, and, in the country at least, are guilty of few crimes below their common recreations of rebellion and brigandage. These they indulge in periodically when the harvest is in, if for any reason, such as flood or drought, the crops have been deficient; but, apart from this and apart from the regular visits of the tax-collector, it is doubtful if the actual existence of a government is brought tangibly to the notice of a tenth, certainly not to a fifth, of the population. The remaining eighty or more per cent live their daily life under their customs, the common law of the land, interpreted and executed by themselves. Each village is the unit for this common-law government, the fathers of the village exercising the authority vested in age, but acting under no official warrant, and interpreting the customs of their fathers as they learned them in their youth.[1]

The town where the official lives was, according to Morse, treated very much like a village. 632

> The town is considered a collection of villages, being divided into *chia*, "wards," each with its *Tipao*, whose duties are the same as those of his country colleague.[2] 651

The function of the official as a tax collector was the one that affected the life of the people in town or country the most directly. There were two principal types of taxes: the land tax and the tribute or tax on the products of the

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

651 land or of craft or trade. In both cases the local prefect was the one who dealt with the people through his tax collectors. In both types of taxes there was a fixed item: the first or basic tax, which was, in the case of land, a percentage of an original fixed value and in the case of products of the land or of trade, a fixed percentage of the cash value of the products. The second item on the tax bill, whether for farmer or tradesman, was the "accretion," the additional amounts which it had been customary through long contests with the officials to add to the original figure. In addition to these two charges there was a percentage for the collection of the taxes, presumably to pay the expenses of the collectors. In describing these surcharges, Jamieson says:

> The fixing of these surcharges and the rates of commutation appears to be left mainly with the district magistrates, with the consent probably of the provincial treasurer. The Imperial Government does not, so far as I know, attempt to regulate such matters. The magistrates are mainly bound by old custom; what has been done before is tolerated, but there is always a tendency to seize on every occasion to try to obtain a little more. This, if too much, provokes a riot, the magistrate gets into trouble with the people, and a haggling ensues until either the extra impost is abandoned or a modus vivendi is arrived at on some middle ground.[1]

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In both the second and third items of the tax bill there is possibility of change each year with a consequent battle between officials and the group taxed, whether in the country or the city, whether farmers or guildsmen. Morse gives little detailed description of the actual methods of taxing the products of the craft guilds or the business of the commercial guilds. In fact, he gives the impression that the guilds were at the time of his study so invulnerable and in such favored

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[1] Quoted by Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

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> position in the towns that they both profited from the low tax rates of the farmers and settled their own affairs without official interference.

> The town has, however, its commercial questions, but these are almost, if not quite, invariably settled by the gild concerned, in accordance with gild rules, and are seldom brought to the cognisance of the officials.
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> Of the relations between town and country it may be said that the interests of the countryman, peaceful and law-abiding, are sacrificed to those of the town dwellers, rowdy and competitive. The direct taxes, land tax and tribute, are assessed on rental value for farming land, and town property is subjected to no great increase from this rating. The movement of food supplies, too, is prohibited or sanctioned, not according to the interests of the producing farmer, but to meet the needs of the consuming townsman.[1]

There are, however, ample indications in Morse's study that there was continual friction between guildsmen and officials on the question of taxes. This study of Peking guilds frequently brings out the same situation.

The guild's lack of legal status is thus described by Morse: " In China the guilds have never been within the law. They grew up outside it, and, as associations, have never recognized the civil law nor claimed protection from it." The government, however, gave tacit recognition to the guilds in allowing them to maintain their particular monopolies and in connection with taxation. In negotiations with the officials Morse tells us that the guilds " make representations to the government ordinarily through a sort of envoy, their secretary." [2] Their method when there is a clash between the interests of the government and those of the guild is described by Morse as follows:

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[1] Quoted by Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[2] Morse, *The Gilds of China*, p. 27.

*441 *467 651 They (the gilds) impose their will on traders in and out of the gilds, and may even, through the measure known as the "cessation of all business" cause the government to modify or withdraw its orders.[1]

In general, however, the guildsmen are urged to settle affairs among themselves in their own way and, if possible, to have nothing whatsoever to do with the officials.

It is agreed that members having disputes about money (and, in practice, any other) matters with each other shall submit their case to arbitration at a gild meeting, where every effort will be made to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the dispute. If it prove impossible to arrive at an understanding, appeal may be made to the authorities; but if the complainant resorts to the courts in the first instance, without first referring to the gild, he shall be publicly reprimanded, and in any future case he may bring before the gild he will not be entitled to redress.[2]

In Appendix B will be found several detailed descriptions of contests between officials who desire to get as much money as they can out of these organizations and the guildsmen standing as a unit opposed to their demands. The growing power of municipal government in the large cities of China, however, is weakening the isolation and independence of the guilds, and the increasing strength of the local police is making their former autonomy difficult.[3]

THE IMPACT OF EURO-AMERICAN CULTURE ON CHINA

177 The review just given indicates the age-long background of the guilds; it gives their setting as they existed, unaffected

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[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

[3] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey* (New York, 1921), p. 34.

by modern changes arising from the impact of Western civilization on Ancient Cathay. Modifications in the structure and the functions of the guilds can best be understood when studied in relation to these newer developments.

The process of Euro-American culture diffusion in China began in the latter part of the eighteenth century when trade first started in South China. The first factories were built not long after the first trader arrived, and at the same time the missionary movement, with its educational, medical and evangelistic activities, commenced bringing hundreds, and later thousands, of devoted men and women who in every province and almost every county established centers of diffusion not only of the thoughts and attitudes of Europe and America but of the general cultural pattern represented by their respective nationalities. During the past twenty years the results of the political, economic and religious penetration of China have become increasingly marked. Mr. Roger S. Green, the present director of the Union Medical College in Peking, in his summary of what he considers the hopeful or progressive factors in the present situation in China, gives an excellent list of the marked changes resultant from the spread of Euro-American culture in China.[1] The points he lists are as follows:

(1) An increasing number of young men trained along Western lines of a type formerly used only as technicians or in dealing with foreigners are beginning to appear in positions of responsibility in nearly every walk of life in China.

(2) The rapid growth of education on the Western pattern. Monroe gives these general statistics for 1923 (the last available national statistics):[2] 6,500,000 children in government schools, 500,000 in mission schools. 871

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[1] From *Addresses on China* at the Thirty-fourth Annual Session of Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Atlantic City, New York, January 11-14, 19

[2] Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 278.

671 (3) The reorganization of certain technical services of the government. There are 138 modern courts in China. These were praised highly by the Extraterritorial Commission. An excellent codification of Chinese laws is being drawn up by trained Chinese lawyers.

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206 (4) A remarkable development of the postal and telegraph systems. "In 1911 the length of mail routes was about 120,000 miles. Now they cover more than 250,000 miles. The money-order business during this period has increased from about $6,000,000 in silver to more than $75,000,000. It is pointed out that this remarkable branch of government service is carried on almost exclusively by Chinese. Likewise, the telegraph service is now so organized that messages are received in many of the remotest parts of the Republic.

496 (5) There are 7,000 miles of railroads, and they are managed on the business side and on the technical side almost entirely by Chinese.

491 (6) Ten years ago there were scarcely any highways in China that could be used by motor cars. Now there are 10,000 miles of good roads.

625 (7) The growing efficiency of the police and street cleaning departments of many Chinese cities is a sign of progress.

744 (8) In Peking a beginning has been made in governmental public health activities. There is an epidemic prevention bureau which is embarking on the production of vaccines and serums, and an experimental public health demonstration center for one district of the capital.

654 (9) The remarkably efficient geological survey conducted by V. K. Ting is now shedding more light on the real mineral resources of China.

439 (10) The importations from foreign countries in 1880 amounted to about 80,000,000 taels ($111,111,111),[1] of

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[1] The sign $ unless accompanied by the term "gold" is used in this study to designate Chinese currency. For exchange rates see pp. 63-64.

which one-half represented opium. This indicates, then, only a little more than 40,000,000 taels ($55,555,556) of general imports. In 1925 imports had increased to 950,000,000 taels ($1,319,444,444). Exports increased from 78,000,000 taels ($108,333,333) to 775,000,000 taels ($1,076,388,889). 439

In exports and in the coastwise trade you see a steadily ascending curve. The total trade coming under the administration of the customs, shows an increase of from about 1,200,000,000 *taels* ($3,058,000,000) in 1916 to about 2,200,000,000 *taels* ($1,668,000,000) in 1925. That represents activity of all sorts, mainly in farming and in manufacturing, a tremendous amount of new activity that is going on, and new relations with foreign countries. The trade of Shanghai is now about five times what it was twenty-five years ago.[1]

Five other movements should be mentioned in this list of the changes taking place in China. The Renaissance Movement, the Student Movement, the newer nationalism, the introduction of the factory system and the Labor Movement.

(11) The Renaissance Movement, developed in Peking under the leadership of a group of intellectuals who were for the most part returned students from Europe and America, emphasized a literary revolution which popularized the use of the spoken language on the printed page and a general educational movement designed "to remake civilization" by the introduction into China of "democracy and science." Largely through the influence of monthly and weekly periodicals, which have appeared in increasing numbers since 1919, and by means of lectures given both by native and by foreign scholars, a profound change has taken place in the thinking of the educated classes.[2] 185

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[1] *Addresses on China*, p. 9.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-162.

873 (12) The Student Movement, with its local and nation-wide unions, shows its power first in its leadership in the demonstration against the signing by China of the Versailles Treaty in 1919, and again in 1925 after the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, when it was the organized students who by lectures and the promotion of local demonstrations were the driving force behind the national protests against "unequal treaties."[1]

185 (13) A striking contrast between present-day China and China before the founding of the Republic is the increasing popular interest in the international status of the nation. This interest is spreading especially in the South and finds its chief expression in a popular demand for the revision of "unequal treaties." This movement crystallized and gained momentum after the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, 1925, and has affected the official pronouncements of both the Northern and the Southern governments as manifested in the insistence on the rescinding of the special treaty rights held by foreigners residing in China.

178 (14) The development of the modern factory system has a direct bearing on the future of many types of guilds. The best available statistics of this development were compiled by the Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information. The following figures, which show the rapid increase of factories and the magnitude of investment in modern type industry, were sent to the writer by Mr. M. A. Gilbert, General Secretary of the Bureau:

> The first establishment in the form of a factory came into existence as early as 1862, when Viceroy Tseng Kuo-fan of

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[1] Dr. Tsi C. Wang has vividly portrayed the activities of the Student Movement in his book, *The Youth Movement* (New York, 1927). The Renassaince Movement, the Student Movement and the demonstrations against Christianity are all shown by Dr. Wang to be aspects of the awakening of the youth of China.

Anhwei completed the building of an arsenal at Anking for the manufacture of arms and ammunition and the construction of steamships. Side by side with this venerable statesman, Viceroy Li Hung-chang proposed and established in Shanghai and Soochow works for the output of guns. The years 1862 to 1881 could be considered a period of industrial development of military supplies. The following thirteen years were characterized by great activity in the industrial field of a purely commercial nature. Weaving factories and mints were the feature establishments of the time. In the next thirteen years, competition became very keen between Chinese and foreign enterprises. During this period remarkable progress was recorded in the establishment of cotton mills, glass manufactories and machinery works. Ever since 1907, industries have developed by leaps and bounds. The actual commencement of this period was shortly after the conclusion of the World War. In 1920, there were as many as 70 factories established. The next year had an insignificant decrease of nine establishments. The following list will show the establishment of factories every year from 1901 to 1924:

1901	12	1914	24
1902	4	1915	33
1903	4	1916	30
1904	7	1917	18
1905	15	1918	19
1906	29	1919	21
1907	33	1920	70
1908	20	1921	61
1909	21	1922	46
1910	18	1923	14
1911	14	1924	11
1912	13		
1913	28	Total	565

This total of 565 factories in operation in China in 1924 had an aggregate capitalization of $224,143,449, figures later than that year being unobtainable. Classified by industries, they are shown as follows:

	Number of factories	*Total capital*
Cotton weaving and spinning	129	$99,994,420
Flour milling	97 *	25,839,000
Match	66	6,821,000
Soap, candle, etc	35	2,098,000
Silk weaving	23	4,625,000
Metal, machinery, etc.	23	23,205,000
Oil refining	21	4,336,000
Tobacco	20	8,540,000
Chemical	14	2,963,929
Paper	13	9,475,000
Leather	11	5,452,000
Porcelain, earthenware	10	1,270,000
Brick, tiles	10	564,000
Wine distilling	9	2,800,000
Cement	7	4,925,000
Glass	6	1,660,000
Sugar refining	4	10,720,000
Camphor	4	155,300
Salt refining	4	2,489,000
Egg albumen, yolk, etc.	5	325,000
Soda	4	900,000
Miscellaneous	50	5,585,000

These figures only cover the principal factories, and there are many others of a smaller scale not herein mentioned. If distributed by provinces, the following are the totals:

Chihli	94	Chekiang	30
Fengtien	17	Hupeh	26
Kirin	19	Hunan	7
Heilungkiang	3	Shensi	3
Shantung	42	Kansu	3
Honan	17	Szechwan	12
Shansi	10	Kwangtung	19
Kiangsu	219	Kwangsi	1
Anhwei	11	Abroad	4
Kiangsi	16		
Fukien	12	Total	565

A glance at the map of China will show that there is a very large concentration of factories in the provinces in which the big port cities of Shanghai, Tiensien, Hankow, and Canton are situated. Three hundred fifty-eight or 63 per cent of the 565 factories are in these provinces and most of them are in these four cities. 178

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* Less 3 suspended at Peking with $50,000 capital.

(15) The spread of a labor movement organized along Western lines has been described by Dr. Ta Chen.[1] The Third National Conference of Labor held in Canton in May, 1926, was attended by 400 delegates representing as many unions and 1,240,000 workmen from 19 provinces. 467*

> Reports were presented and resolutions passed on the following subjects: Organization of the labor movement; reorganization and working of trade unions; objectives and program of the economic struggle; strikes; the relations between workers and peasants; workers' education; young workers and the trade union movement; unemployment; cooperation; labor legislation; and *the right of association* and conditions of work.[2]

In many cases it is possible to see the direct relation between one of these many changes and guild organization or procedure. These complex changes have been accompanied by a general variability from customary behavior and by a sense of mental unrest and insecurity which though far more difficult to describe is no less significant in considering the changes in guild life.

THE CITY OF PEKING

To give the proper social setting of the particular guilds we are studying, it would be necessary to describe in great detail the life of the city of Peking. Fortunately, such a study has already been made.[3] For our purposes it will be 361

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[1] Ta Chen, *The Labor Movement in China* (Honolulu, 1927).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[3] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*

361 sufficient to enumerate certain features of Peking life which may give a touch of color to the general background already described. The history of Peking extends back for more than 3,000 years and has records dated 1121 B. C. The present city is the sixth city built approximately on the same site. Peking has been the capital of China almost continuously for a thousand years.

Peking is made up of five walled districts, three of which are concentric. The Forbidden City, the old home of the Emperor, is in the center, cut off from the rest of the city by a wall and moat. Around it lies the Imperial City, the old home of the lesser members of the Court. Outside of this is the North or Tartar City, surrounded by a wall 41 feet high and 50 feet across at the top. The South or Chinese City joins the North City on the south, its north wall being the south wall of the North City. The Legation Quarter, the home of the official representatives of the foreign countries, is a small district in the southern part of the North City. It is walled because of the experience of 1900, when the foreigners in the city were besieged by the Boxers. For administrative purposes, Peking has been divided into twenty police districts. The Central Districts are in the Imperial City, the Inside Districts in the North City, and the Outside Districts in the South City. The Left Districts are on the east, and the Right Districts on the west side of the city. The area of the city is 24.75 square miles.[1]

This geographic description does not, however, give a picture of this marvelous bit of medieval age which is the wonder of every tourist who comes to the city and gazes from the high walls over the tops of thousands of ancient trees to the yellow tiles of the Emperor's palace. The city is a strange combination of ancient and modern. Down its broad streets and through its great gates slowly wend camel trains from the desert. By them pass, at forty or fifty miles an hour, the modern automobile of an official with armed soldiers standing on the running board. British- and American-built trains come in through an ancient wall to the stately, modern-style railroad stations. In the same city where the ancient palaces of Emperors and princes occupy vast areas are modern hotels, office buildings, and residences. Peking is the happy hunting ground of tourists who wish to get the products of Chinese handcraft and art. In sections of the Southern City certain streets are named from the product sold or made in that particular district. One street is known to the tourist as Silk Street, another as Lantern Street. In another section are the gold workers; in another, the cloisonné designers. In a very small section in the Northern City are the makers of old-style bows and arrows, with their shops closely adjoining one another. And many modern stores are being opened for the selling of clothing, hardware, bicycles, automobiles, electrical supplies, and other importations from the West. 361

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

Peking is unlike any other city in its government. 633

The Government of Peking is a Chinese puzzle. Many different boards and agencies, including the National Government, its President, Cabinet and Parliament, the Metropolitan District, and two of its 20 *Hsien*, the Military Guard under the Board of War, the Municipal Council and Police Board, both of which are responsible to the Minister of the Interior, are all functioning in the city. The powers of the various boards are determined by custom rather than by law, so it is practically impossible to describe their relationship under all conditions.[1]

The relation of the guilds to the government naturally is not the same as it would be in a small town where the local *Hsien* official alone deals with the taxes. However, the same attitude of solidarity against the government officials is found 441* 634 467*

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

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*441 in the guilds in Peking. The problem is a similar one although
634 the government agencies now dealing with the guilds
are more complicated.

[162] Peking had in 1919 a population of 811,556,[1] of which
647 an unusually large proportion were males — 63.5 per cent.[2]
873 The reason for this undue proportion is the very large number of officials living in Peking without their families and the army of expectant officials awaiting appointment, and also the large male student population. In 1919 there were 16,879 students in modern-style high schools and colleges. The number has greatly increased since then. The large number of men and boys in shops and stores who have come in from the country, away from their families, is another factor.

Because Peking is a city with such a high percentage of officials and students, one looks in vain for any considerable body of local gentry. The official group comes from every province and practically from every city in China, and the students come from a similarly wide area. One would naturally suppose that the guilds in Peking would be less affected by the pressure of public opinion than would those in other cities, for there is little unity in the conglomerate group of temporary residents that make up the official and student ranks.

178 Modern industry has affected Peking very little indeed.

Other cities in China point with pride to the modern factories which they have established, but Peking has little industry that is efficient and on a modern basis. The city has long been a political rather than an industrial center, and the local octroi charges have tended to discourage the establishment of modern factories inside the walls. The principal examples of modern industry are the telephone company, the electric light company, water company, match factory, glass factory and government uniform factory. The telephone company, electric company and water company have covered practically the entire city with their lines, and all give fairly efficient service. 178

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

The match factory is reported to be doing work on thoroughly efficient modern lines, but employing a great number of children. A more detailed report cannot be given, as this was the one place in Peking to which we were denied admission.

The glass factory stands as a warning to those who would introduce modern methods and modern machinery in China without first training men to operate and care for the machines. The machinery was imported and the factory built at an expense of nearly one million dollars; but as no trained men were available, the machinery was broken and the factory had to be closed down.

While the big glass factory with its complicated machinery has been a failure, one of the Buddhist Temples in the South City is running a small factory turning out lamp chimneys and window glass, which require but little machinery. Two furnaces are kept in constant operation, and the work is done by some thirty workers and seventy apprentices. The workers are paid from $30 to $50 a month, while the apprentices receive from 50 cents to $3 a month. The hours of work are from 3 a. m. to 5 p. m.

The Government in its uniform factory, established by the Board of War in 1912, is making equipment for the army under modern factory conditions, and is using modern machinery and quantity production method in some lines, while in others the old system of hand work prevails, though on a larger scale than is ordinarily found in any of the Chinese shops.[1]

Peking is also a center of national finance and the headquarters not only of important Chinese banks but also of foreign organizations, which are centered there in large numbers. Their transactions, however, have little to do with the industrial situation in the city. 453

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 219, 220.

*441 *467 Although there have been many changes in government, a considerable advance in education and a large extension of banking and finance, the life and methods of the craftsmen and of the store keepers have gone on with relatively little change. For this reason Peking gives an unusual opportunity for studying the guilds in a form very similar to that of past generations.

CHAPTER I

THE METHOD AND SCOPE OF STUDY

THE present study is a non-statistical description of the principal characteristics of forty-two contemporary Peking guilds, the operation of which is confined to the city of Peking and its immediate vicinity. Elsewhere[1] it has been estimated that there are in Peking 128 guilds of the types studied. Our selection of 42 guilds is, therefore, 32.8 per cent of the whole number. These guilds are also representative of the whole, as not fewer than 8, and not more than 18, of any one group were chosen. 121

A. THE METHODS OF COLLECTING DATA

This study is based chiefly on information procured by means of a questionnaire. This questionnaire, or schedule, was made out and used in the following manner: 125

(1) The questions were roughly drafted in English and submitted for criticism and suggestions to several persons, Chinese and foreign, among whom were Mr. Sidney D. Gamble who in 1919-20 had made a preliminary study of the Guilds of Peking, Dr. Leonard H. L. Hsu, associate professor of Sociology in Yenching University at Peking, and Mr. Franklin C. H. Lee, a Columbia University graduate who at that time was assisting Mr. Gamble in his research and who is now a member of the Research Staff of the China Foundation, Peking. After this consultation, the questionnaire was revised.

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[1] *Cf.*, pp. 107-108.

125 The questions covered the following points:[1]

I. Introduction, including the name of the guild, the character of its business, the location of its head office, and its officers
II. The purpose in founding the guild
III. The history of the guild
IV. Membership
V. Officers
VI. Meetings
VII. Income
VIII. Apprentice system
IX. Functions of the guild
X. Relations of the individual guild to other guilds and other organizations
XI. Discipline
XII. Charity
XIII. Religion
XIV. General conditions of the guild at present

(2) The original questionnaire was put into Chinese by a capable Chinese scholar and afterwards was carefully corrected by Mr. Franklin Lee, a native of Tung Hsien, a town fifteen miles east of Peking. Mr. Lee was selected because he was a native of the district and therefore able to use terms clearly understood by those living in Peking.

(3) The questionnaire was printed in large Chinese type.

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(4) The investigation was carried out by three able, trained Chinese, in the following manner: Mr. Hung Chun Chang,[2] a graduate of Yenching University, took the responsibility for securing the information from the head men or important officials of each guild. Mr. Chang is the nephew of a priest in a well-known Confucian temple of the Southern City of Peking known as Ching Chung Miao.

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[1] For full questionnaire, see Appendix, pp. 251-256.

[2] A full description of Mr. Chang's qualifications is given on page 57.

Many of the guilds hold their annual meetings in this temple. 123 Mr. Jun Shan Chiao,[1] the priest, was familiar with the proceedings of the guilds and was held responsible for many of the preparations for their meetings and ceremonies. In March, 1926, in company with Mr. Chang, the writer called on Mr. Chiao at the Temple and requested his cooperation in this study. The general plan was described to Mr. Chiao and he readily consented to cooperate with us. The fact that the writer had been his nephew's teacher and that his nephew fully understood the object of the investigation evidently quite satisfied Mr. Chiao and he showed neither curiosity as to why we were studying the guilds nor suspicion regarding the enterprise. The priest knew of the writer's personal interest in his nephew's future education in America, and the very pleasant chat regarding the guilds was concluded with a discussion of ways and means. Mr. Chiao then showed us around the old Temple, taking us through a large theatre with a gallery at the rear and on two sides, and having a stone slab floor. We inspected the large stage where the plays are given to the "Sacred Masters" or the supposed founders of the guilds. Certain locked rooms where records of the guilds are kept were pointed out. 125

(5) Mr. Chang secured from his uncle introductions, 124 either by telephone or by letter, to prominent men and officials of the guilds to be studied. He selected organizations whose officers were known personally to his uncle. He called on these men, taking the questionnaire with him and making notes of replies. In many cases several interviews were necessary. With insight into difficulties that might arise through suspicion on the part of members of the guilds as to the object of his study, Mr. Chang concealed the fact that he was securing this information for a Westerner.

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[1] A full description of Mr. Chiao's characteristics is given on pp. 56, 57.

124 The following is a quotation from a letter of Mr. Chang's to the writer, dated Oct. 29, 1927:

> We chose these particular guilds because those who are in charge of them are either our relatives, friends, or neighbors, or our relatives' relatives, friends' friends, or neighbors' neighbors. We did not try the guilds of which we did not know the heads and secretaries personally. Besides, we chose them because we were perfectly sure they were the right kind of men to give the information needed, as some of the guild heads are very ignorant and they cannot answer questions to the point. Before we went to see the guild heads and representatives, my uncle and other friends had already smoothed the way for us. They had explained to them why we wanted this kind of material. We did not tell them that we were collecting this material for you, but said it was for me. We told them that I was going to America to study and I would require such material for my work there. As they knew that I had studied in Yenching, a foreign institution, and would go to America this fall to study, they were very willing to answer my questions and showed no suspicions at all. They did not try to give wrong information, as they would have if they had known I was collecting the material for a foreigner. Mr. Wang, one of the other two investigators, was introduced to our friends as my friend collecting material for me, and we told him not to mention you. They praised me highly and told me to ask them any thing they knew about the guilds, that they would be willing to help. In case they did not know themselves they would find out for me. They have confidence in my uncle or the ones that did the introducing, so they showed a very friendly attitude and did not ask why we were collecting this material. The type of questions they put to me were: "When will you go in America?" "Who will go with you?" "How far is it from China to America?" "How will you go, by train or by boat?" "How much will it cost you there?" "How many years will you stay in America?"

Since the questionnaires were filled during the interview by

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ourselves, we had favorable conditions. It would have been very hard for us not to use the questionnaires because we could not remember all the questions and we had to put everything down on the sheets, otherwise we would forget some of them, especially the figures and dates. We could not finish the questionnaire at one interview, as it took some time and they would be tired to answer them all at one time. We had to go several times in order to get a complete record, and sometimes they had to ask others the questions they did not know themselves.

We tried to have the questionnaires filled by the guild heads or secretaries, but they were not satisfactory and complete. Some misinterpreted the questions, and some answered very few as it would take too much of their time to write answers to every question. Moreover some did not know how to write so we had to fill them ourselves. Even in the case of the few that were filled by the guild authorities, we had to go again for further information.

This extract shows the favorable conditions under which information was procured and would tend *a priori* to show that it was accurate to this extent, that it represented the actual opinion of the guild officials who were without desire to deceive. Inasmuch as Mr. Chiao was personally known to these men and the information was believed to be for his nephew to help him in his further study in America, there was no object in falsifying the report. Also, since Mr. Chiao was himself familiar with guild procedure, these guildsmen, his personal friends, would hesitate to give his nephew false statements which might be seen by the uncle.

Mr. Chang, as a matter of fact, went over many of these reports with his uncle to check up the information and make sure that he had reported accurately the ideas of the guildsmen.

Mr. Chang afterwards secured the services of Mr. He Chen Wang,[1] a co-worker with him in the office of Mr.

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[1] For a full description of Mr. Wang's qualifications, *cf.* p. 57.

124 Gamble.[1] Mr. Chang did his investigating in spare time outside of office hours. He did not consult with Mr. Gamble regarding results. Mr. Chang introduced Mr. Wang to the heads of some of the guilds he studied. Mr. Franklin Lee, then chief investigator for Mr. Gamble, through the latter's kindness also made an independent investigation of four guilds. Mr. Chang makes the following statement:

> Mr. Gamble asked Mr. Lee to take Mr. Wang to the guilds to which we were introduced by my uncle in order to show Mr. Wang how to meet people and approach the problem. Mr. Lee showed Mr. Wang only two guilds and then they carried on their study independently. Lest Mr. Wang might not know how to handle the problem properly and successfully, I went with him to investigate five guilds.

A complete list of guilds studied, with the dates, names of investigators, and the names and positions of the men who gave the information is given on pages 65 and 66.

Mr. Chang's statement of the relationship of the various investigators to one another is given in the following quotation from a letter:

> Besides giving introductions, my uncle helped in checking up the questionnaires to see if we had the right information and sometimes he accompanied me to some of the guild heads that I myself do not know personally.
>
> I did not consult with Mr. Gamble regarding my work. While I was doing the first five you were in Peking, so it was not necessary to consult with him. He was in America while I was studying the other twenty guilds.
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> The usual places where the workers and merchants meet for discussing things are either the tea houses or the restaurants. It is not convenient to meet in the homes or shops, they think, so I was advised by my uncle to meet them in some of the small

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[1] For a full description of Mr. Gamble's characteristics, *cf.* pp. 57, 58.

restaurants, talking while eating, in order to make them feel more willing to help on the one hand and to make the time not seem too long on the other.

Mr. Lee and Mr. Wang spent almost three months entirely on the guild study.

Mr. Lee writes on November 28, 1927, from Peking giving the following information regarding his method of procedure in obtaining the material regarding four guilds.

The approximate date of the investigation was the latter part of June and the early part of July, 1926. I obtained the information from the following persons:

(1) the Peking Association of the Pork Merchants—from a Mr. Liu, secretary of the organization, who gave the information quite frankly;
(2) the Peking Association of the Mutton Merchants—from a Mr. Wang, secretary of the Association, who was quite open;
(3) the Electricians Association from a Mr. Chang—an ordinary member, who was very frank in answering my questions;
(4) the Bankers Association—from a Mr. Yuan, connected with the Continental Bank, who was very responsive.

I obtained my introduction to Messrs. Liu, Wang and Chang through some friends. Mr. Yuan is a returned student, whom I know very well. I first wrote their answers in a notebook while conducting the interview, and filled out the questionnaire blank afterwards. Mr. Yuan filled out the blanks for me for the Bankers Association.

(6) Three guilds in Foochow were studied by Mr. Li Jen Fan, a former graduate student in sociology (1925-1926) at Yenching University.

In response to a request mailed to the Department of

124 Sociology of Nanking University we received one fully filled-in questionnaire by mail. It is not known who supplied this information, but undoubtedly it came through the faculty or the students of the university there.

The foregoing shows how the principal material for this paper was collected.[1] Of the forty-seven Peking guilds studied by Chang, Wang and Lee, four were used merely for comparative purposes and are not included in the tables. They were rejected either because of insufficient data, or because there was a question as to whether even with the broad latitude of this rough definition these associations could be classified as guilds.

B. DESCRIPTION OF THE INVESTIGATORS

1. Mr. Jun Shan Chiao, the priest, is a tall, virile-looking man, keen in conversation, quick at getting new ideas, a Chinese scholar, as indicated by his diction and his manner. The following extracts from Mr. Chang's letters give an interesting description of his uncle:

> My uncle served in the ceremonies under the Manchu dynasties at the Temple of Heaven, Agriculture, Earth, Sun, Confucious. He ranked as the number two in the Sacred Music Bureau. He is still serving in the ceremonies in the Confucian Temple and the Temple of Kuan Yueh, two military sages. He is now fifty-one years old and has been living in two temples, Ching Chung Miao and Yao Wang Miao, where most of the Peking Guilds have been holding their annual meetings for about forty years. During all the time he has been dealing with the guild heads, and that is why he knows so much about them, especially the craft guilds. He arranges food, seats, plays and God's hall[2] for them. He is not a man of modern education but has

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[1] The number of guilds studied by each investigator is given in Table III.

[2] By this is meant the hall for the worship of the guild founder.

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a modern mind. He is a very wise and practical man. He held a very important position in the Sacred Music Bureau in the Manchu Dynasty. He is an expert in managing things. He is keen and quick.

2. Mr. Hung Chun Chang was graduated in 1925 first in his class at Yenching University, the Union Christian college in Peking. He majored in sociology and did a great deal of work in economics. He is extremely quick and keen and has proved himself a very capable research man in the office of Mr. Gamble.[1]

3. Mr. Wang is described by Mr. Chang thus:

> Mr. He Chen Wang, twenty-six years old, a Yenching graduate of 1925, preaching in General Feng's Army for one year, beginning to work in Mr. Gamble's office as his research assistant July, 1926, in connection with a home budget study in Peking.

4. Mr. Franklin C. H. Lee, who obtained his A.M. degree at Columbia University, has done very creditable work for Mr. Gamble. He has been appointed to the staff of the newly organized research department of the China Foundation.[2]

5. Mr. S. D. Gamble received his A.B. at Princeton and his A.M. in Economics at the University of California.

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[1] He describes himself as follows: Mr. Hung Chun Chang, twenty-five years of age, a Yenching graduate of 1925. Specialized in sociology and social work while in college, having been called as a social research assistant to Mr. S. D. Gamble since graduation, having well in hand 110 years' material on the cost of living in Peking, planning to go to America this fall to study sociology, social work and social research.

[2] Mr. Chang describes him thus: Mr. Franklin C. H. Lee, M.A., a returned student from America, studied one thousand rickshaw coolies in Peking 1924-1925, and the history of building material prices in Peking last year under the supervision of Mr. Gamble; now working as a field secretary in the Social Research Department of China Foundation.

During 1918 and 1919 he resided in Peking where he and the present writer cooperated in making studies which were incorporated in a volume entitled *Peking: A Social Survey.* This was the first social survey published of any Oriental city. Mr. Gamble helped in the guild study principally by criticism of the original questionnaire and by contributing the time of Mr. Wang and Mr. Lee.

In his original study of the city of Peking Mr. Gamble took special interest in the question of guilds. He employed a Mr. Chen, a graduate of the Wharton School of Commerce of Pennsylvania, to study the commercial life of Peking. Mr. Chen, under Mr. Gamble's direction, spent a year in research work largely devoted to the study of guilds.

Mr. Gamble returned to Peking in 1924 where he resided until September, 1927, engaging in research on economic questions.

C. THE CHECKING OF THE MATERIAL

COMPARISON WITH THE EARLIER STUDY MADE BY MR. GAMBLE

Material collected by Mr. Gamble and his associates in the earlier survey mentioned above dealt with some of the guilds included in this study.[1] The present survey was made by different investigators eight years later and in greater detail. Mr. Gamble's earlier material, however, is a valuable check on the general aspects of guilds and on certain data on organization and functions. His first-hand impressions of a meeting of the Blind Guild are especially useful.

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[1] Some of the guilds touched upon in *A Social Survey* were as follows:

The Tailors	p. 171
The Blind	p. 171–4
The Carpenters	p. 176
The Shoemakers	p. 176
The Barbers	p. 177
The Paperhangers	p. 179
The Bankers	p. 179

CHECKS ON THE GENERAL CHARACTER AND ORGANIZATION OF THE GUILDS

The information gathered tends to confirm the impression 128
that there are certain general characteristics common to almost all guilds. The fact that three different investigators made this study and found similar characteristics would seem to make it relatively more certain that the results were correct than if the study had been made by one person only.

The number of guilds studied is given in Table III.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF GUILDS REPORTED ON BY EACH INVESTIGATOR

	Hand Craft	Professional	Commercial	Total
By Chang	10	4	9	23
By Chang and Wang	1	2	2	5
By Wang	5	1	4	10
By Wang and Lee		1	1	2
By Lee			2	2
	16	8	18	42

OTHER PRINTED REPORTS AND STUDIES OF CHINESE GUILDS

In the extensive literature on China in European lan- 114
guages one finds little material on guilds.[1] The outstanding work on the subject is Morse's *The Gilds of China.* This book deals largely with the general aspects of guilds found in South and Central China. The article by Macgowan on "Chinese Gilds, Chambers of Commerce and Trade Unions"[2] is of a similar nature. The other works referred to simply

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[1] *Cf.* Bibliography, p. 262.

[2] Macgowan, "Chinese Gilds, Chamber of Commerce and Trade Unions," *Journal* of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1888-1889.

114 give a general outline of the organization and functions of guilds without affording detailed study of comparative material.

CHECK ON MATERIAL AFFORDED BY REPETITION OF QUESTIONS IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE

128 A glance at the lengthy questionnaire, replies to which were the basis of this study, will show that many questions were repeated frequently. For example, Question I on the purpose of founding the guilds includes the following sub-questions:

1. Maintaining prices
2. Protection from officers
3. Discouraging competition
4. Other purposes

while question VIII concerning the functions of the guilds is divided into two main heads:

1. Fixing prices
2. Standardizing goods

The subject of prices is thus brought out in both questions. It will also be noted that Questions I and VII deal with the same general idea while replies to I: 4 might well embody the same information as replies to VIII: 2.[1] There was thus frequent opportunity for contradictions if answers were careless. Such contradictions were, however, negligible in number.

In most divisions of the questionnaire, after formal inquiries had been made, there was a series of questions designed for the purpose of ascertaining whether the procedures reported in the first half of the questions were actually carried out. There is a tendency in Chinese organizations for actual practice to differ greatly from the declared or formally accepted outline. For example, in the regulations of certain guilds it may be stated that the group is controlled and the officers elected by members who express their will in the annual meeting. In actual operation it may be true that a group of the elder and wealthier heads in informal conference actually make the price regulations of the guild and choose the officers. Our repetition of questions is a frank effort to discover the difference between formal statement and actual practice.

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[1] *Cf.* Questionnaire, pp. 251-256.

D. GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE MATERIAL DERIVED FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The original data may be classified as the reports of "participant observers." The information comes directly from the guildsmen themselves. It is quite to be expected that certain trends in the guild life are not so apparent to the participant observer as to the outside investigator. For example, in some guilds there is not the anxiety about the future of the organization which one might expect in view of the beginning of the factory system in China and of the spread of foreign trade. Those outside the guilds can more easily see these dangers threatening than those who are absorbed in its customary practices and have little contact with outside developments.

This study is not primarily statistical. There is no claim of actual check on every detail reported. Such a check would not only necessitate one or more re-investigations of every guild but would also involve a detailed observation of the actual behavior of guild members and of the various functionings of these associations. What is claimed, however, is that because of the very numerous data on forty-two guilds, collected by three different investigators, each guild being reported by a member, and because of the various checks above outlined, the study may be considered a relatively

128 accurate description of guild organizations and functionings as they exist today in Peking.

127 Partly because no old guild records are available, historical material in this paper, although abundant, is by no means comprehensive. This fact, however, is not the handicap which it might be were we dealing with institutions which have already disappeared. Although no doubt a complete historical picture would throw much light on the present operation and functioning of the guilds, it is not so essential in this case because there is every reason to suppose that they are now functioning very much as they have functioned since ancient times. There are indications, it is true, that of late the ancient structure is beginning to crumble. But in a city like Peking, which is relatively little affected by foreign trade and manufacturing, enough remains to enable us to see clearly the outlines of the ancient organizations.

121 This paper will not deal extensively with the transformation of the guilds. It is relatively more important to understand the nature of these ancient social structures than the many modifications now taking place. Ten years from now much more material will be available on the dissolution of the guilds, but it may then be difficult to determine the original nature of the organizations. The changes cannot be evaluated except by reference to the original structure. No effective effort to conserve the best of the guild life can be made unless we know the nature of the original social values and attitudes manifested.

123 The method used is particularly adapted to a study of this ancient group life. The investigators who covered most of the guilds were young men of modern education, able to give a critical estimate of the facts recorded, but they had not been abroad, were not "Westernized" and were not familiar with Western economic life. These young men had the best possible introduction, that of the friendly scholar-priest with

123 whom the guild officials were acquainted. Many of these officials were interviewed several times. It must be remembered that time is not considered so valuable to these old guildsmen as to the heads of Western business concerns. A chat with the nephew of the priest who prepares their "god's feast" each year, or with the nephew's friend who had an introduction from the same priest, would *a priori* be calculated to draw out the facts "as they saw them." There would be no motive for deception and no suspicion because of the introduction. Unlike the West, there is no danger of revealing trade secrets to rival firms. Each group has a practical monopoly in its field, hence there is no danger of the competitor profiting by the facts divulged. It is also highly improbable that these guildsmen had ever been similarly interviewed regarding the guilds. They were not questionnaire-hardened.

The discussion of the future of the guilds is based on inferences derived from the guildsmen's reports, or on material obtained from sources other than the questionnaire.

E. The Distinction Between Verified Facts and Inferences Drawn from these Facts

127 In the following discussion there are two types of matter dealt with: (1) facts derived from the inductive study of these guilds or from other creditable sources; and (2) opinion or conjecture based on these facts. In the former case statements will frequently be made without reference to the exact source. Opinions or inferences derived from these facts will in every case be given as opinion merely. Unqualified statements may be assumed to be based on the material in hand.

F. Money Exchange Rates

436 Throughout this study the sign $ will indicate Chinese, not American, dollars. When the American dollar is men-

436 tioned the term "gold" is added. The Chinese dollar is worth approximately one-half of the American gold dollar.

The approximate rate of exchange for 1926, the year in which most of the data were obtained, has been calculated on the basis of the average monthly exchange in Peking.

$1.00 = 345 coppers
1.00 = .72 taels
1.00 = $.49 American gold
1 tael = $1.39
$1.00 American gold = $2.03

G. List of the Guilds Studied

* 467 * 441 Table IV lists the names of the 42 guilds studied. The guilds may be roughly classified as Handicraft 16, Commercial or Mercantile 18, Professional 8.

[124] There are three handicraft guilds that not only make their respective goods but have stores where they sell them. They are the Awning Makers, the Cloisonné Designers, and the Silk Thread Makers. There are three commercial guilds which include not only keepers of stores but skilled artisans. They are the Clock Stores, the Shoe Stores, and the Hat Stores. Thirteen of these guilds are reported on by their respective heads; the others, by the guild secretary, a head worker (master journeyman), or some other officer. In a few cases the information comes from "a member" or "an old member."

H. The Age of Informants

124 In the case of twenty-six of the forty-two guilds the approximate age of the informant was given, the figure given being only a rough guess on the part of the investigators. The fact that all men interviewed were over forty, combined with the fact that in practically all guilds the guildsmen start young in the trade, craft, or profession, would seem to indicate that these twenty-six were men who had been sufficiently long in the guild to know whereof they spoke.

TABLE IV

NAME AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE FORTY-TWO PEKING GUILDS INVESTIGATED

(There are also included Name of Investigator, Date of Investigation, Name of Informant, Age of Informant, Position of Informant)

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Name of Guild	Name of investigator	Date of investigation	Name of person who gave information	Approximate age of informant	Position of informant in guild
A. Handcraft					
Awning Makers*	Wang	Apr.–June '26	Sha	50	Manager
Carpenters	Chang	" " "	Chang	50	Head worker
Cloth Pasters	Chang & Wang	" " "	Jen	50	Head of G.
Cloisonné Designers	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Wang		" " "
Confectionery Makers	Wang	Apr.–June '26	Yang	60	Old member
Dyers	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Lee		Yearly secy.
Leather Box Makers*	Chang	" " " "	Huang		Descendant of G. founder
Masons	Chang	Apr.–June '26	Chang	60	Head worker
Mat Tent Builders	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Chiang	60	Old head worker
Paper Hangers	Wang	Apr.–June '26	Wu	60	Officer
Painters	Chang	" " "	Meng	50	Head worker
Shoe Fasteners	Wang	" " "	Liu	60	Head
Silk Thread Makers	Wang	" " "	Chang	60	"
Tailors	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Wang	55	Shop manager
Table & Chair Makers	Chang	" " " "	Chiang		Yearly secy.
Tinkers	Chang	Apr.–June' 26	Wang	70	Head
B. Commercial					
Clock Stores†	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Chao	50	Mgr. & head
Cloth Stores	Wang	Apr.–June '26	Fang	40	Member
Coal Stores	Wang	" " "	Lu		Secretary
Confectionery Stores	Wang	" " "	Liu	50	Member
Dyestuff Stores	Wang	" " "	Chang	50	Head secy.
Fur Stores	Chang & Wang	" " "	Liu	70	Yearly secy.
Hat Stores†	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Chu		Former yearly secy.
Leather Stores	Chang	" " " "	Sun		Shop manager
Mutton Shops	Franklin Lee.	June–July '26			
Oil Stores	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Che		Member
Pork Shops	Franklin Lee	June–July '26			

* Both make goods and have stores for sale of goods.

† Both have stores and skilled artisans in stores.

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TABLE IV—*Continued*

Name of Guild	Name of investigator	Date of investigation	Name of person who gave information	Approximate age of informant	Position of informant in guild
B. Commercial—*Continued*					
Rice and Flour Stores	Wang & Lee	Apr.–June '26	Han	40	Guild secy.
Restaurants	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Sheng		Secretary
Satin & Silk Stores	Chang	" " " "	Chin		Head
Second Hand Clothes Stores	Chang	" " " "	Liu		Old member
Shoe Stores	Chang & Wang	Apr.–June '26	Chang	60	Head
Sweet Oil Stores	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Chang		"
Vegetable Sellers	Chang	" " " "	Ku	54	Head worker 35 years
C. Professional or Occupational					
Actors	Chang & Wang	Apr.–June '26	Han	40	Head
Barbers	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Fan		"
Blind	Chang	" " " "	Chao		Old member
Cooks	Wang	Apr.–June '26	He	40	" "
Kitchen Coolies	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Wang	40	Member
Porters	Chang & Wang	Apr.–June '26	Liu	50	Head
Story Tellers	Wang & Lee	" " "	Chang	40	Guild Head's son
Waiters	Chang	Dec. '26–Mch. '27	Lu	70	Head

SUMMARY

Classification	*Number*
Handcraft	16
Commercial	18
Professional or Occupational	8
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CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE GUILDS

A. The Early Existence of Industry and Trade in China

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The origin of the guilds in their present form is a problem on which there is little or no light. In the Chinese Encyclopedia there are detailed tracings through the dynasties of the development of the crafts, such as stone workers, silversmiths, and carpenters; but these records give no details as to the organizations of these workmen. The following is a sample of the type of information or myth contained in the enormous Chinese Encyclopedia, *Shih Wu Chi Yuan*, which was published in the twelfth year of the Emperor Cheng Tung of the Ming Dynasty (1447). This note is given concerning the origin of wood carving:

> Shien Chuang Shih Yi says that wood craft was originated by one of the courtiers of the Emperor Hwang Ti (B. C. 2704-2595), Tzo-Che. When the emperor died Tzo-Che made his statue of wood. He induced a group of feudal lords to worship the emperor. This carving marks the origin of wood craft (wood carving).

The development of this and other crafts is traced through the various reigns of the ancient emperors. In many cases the number of workmen of various sorts employed for a specific task in connection with the court is given; but nowhere could be found any reference to the organization of guilds.

438 656 175 There is ample evidence that both commerce and handcrafts were fully developed many centuries B. C. The *Chou Li,* or Annals of the Chou Dynasty (1122–249 B. C.), contain these words: "The fifth officer is called the chief of manufacturers. He orders the making up of the eight materials. The sixth officer is called the chief of trade. He provides for an abundant circulation of goods and money."[1] It is evident that the government at that early date had a close relationship with and supervision of both commerce and trade.

B. Historical Evidence Regarding Guild Origin

*441 *467 175 It is interesting to note that Morse finds that the Bankers Guild of Ningpo traces its origin to the establishment of the Bureau of the Treasury of the same Chou Dynasty and also to the institution of the different standards of currency in the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206 to A. D. 25). In ancient Chinese literature in general, however, there is little or no reference to the guilds. The interest of the writers was in officials and scholars, not in artisans or merchants. The present writer has been unable to secure anything corresponding to the recorded history which the guildsmen keep themselves. In the case of many of the craft guilds the members are illiterate, but the usual practice in all guilds is to employ a secretary who keeps the records. Up to the present, however, it has been impossible to secure such records.

The preamble of regulations and the common tradition of the guild frequently assign an earlier date to the founding, but more often the reply as to when the guild was founded is given in the words of the preamble of the regulations of the Wenchou Druggists Guild — that the guilds have been at work "from the days of yore to the present."[2]

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[1] Quoted by E. T. Williams in *China, Yesterday and Today,* p. 147.

[2] Morse, *op. cit.*

Mr. Gamble's statement will illustrate the problem we have 441*
in arriving at anything like an accurate appraisal of the age 467*
of these organizations: 175

> Just when in China's history the gilds first began to develop, no one knows. The Chinese records go back for more than three thousand years; but they tell only of Emperors, wars and subjects of literary merit. Business and anything connected with it have not been considered of literary merit, and so have not been more than very casually mentioned in the records. Any monuments or tablets that told of the gilds and their organizations have failed to survive the many changes that have come over the country. Even the gilds themselves cannot trace their history back to the beginning, for they have not any written constitutions, and they have not thought it at all necessary to keep records of their routine meetings or even of any radical change in their organization. They have been careful to preserve copies of the rules that have been in force, but the copies of any old rules have been destroyed.
>
> The Korean gilds, on the other hand, have written constitutions and have kept a record of all alterations and amendments. Many of these constitutions are over one thousand years old. Reference is made in them to the Chinese gilds, as their form or organization was used as a model for the Korean gilds. Consequently, it is definitely known that the Chinese have used the gild organization for well over one thousand years. They have probably had it for two thousand years or even longer.[1]

C. Theories of Guild Origin

If one leaves historical data and enters the fascinating 441*
realm of conjecture on the basis of the slight evidence in hand, he sees certain possible ways that the guilds may have arisen. In the first place should be mentioned one theory which seems entirely improbable, namely, the origin of the

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

*441 guild from the Guild Merchants or general organization of traders. There existed, as Morse has pointed out, three large organizations, namely, the great Guild of Newchuang, the Swatow Guild, and the Canton *Co-Hong,* which were combinations of merchants roughly similar to the guild merchants of Medieval Europe. There is, however, no evidence that any of the guilds included in this study were at an earlier date subdivisions of such super-guilds. There seems no parallel between the history of the Chinese guild and that of the breaking up of the Guild Merchants in England.

The Chambers of Commerce, which now are not only in the cities but also in the market towns, are organizations of very recent origin. They have as their members representatives of the ancient guilds, but they could not have been the forerunners of these organizations.

There are, however, several other possibilities of the origin of the guild which we will enumerate as follows: The guild may have developed (1) from the "Religious Fraternity"; (2) from the family clan organization; (3) from the provincial guilds; (4) primarily as a necessary means of protection from official exploitation; (5) as the only possible group method of getting a living in a situation where there was not enough work to supply support for all the people.

*441 794 (1) Morse alone among the writers on Chinese guilds classifies the "Religious Fraternity" as a guild. Such societies or *hwei* of which religious ceremonies are a prominent feature are described by many writers on China. It is at least conceivably possible that originally the guilds were primarily groups of men banded together for the worship of a supposed founder of a craft or trade and that the various economic functions of the guilds were a later development. The prominence of religious practice in the Peking guilds clearly shows the great importance of this element in guild

441 * 774 life.[1] At the present time in some craft guilds the invitation to the annual meeting is a request merely to worship the "guild god"; no mention is made of the transaction of business which plays a prominent part in the gathering.[2]

441 * 618 (2) There can be no denying the fact, substantiated by observation in North China, and also by D. H. Kulp in his book, *Village Life in South China*, that not only many villages but frequently larger towns are practically made up of persons of one name. In a private conversation Admiral Tsai Ting Kan, a prominent official in the Peking government, himself a native of Kwangtung Province, told of towns in Southern China of a good many thousand inhabitants where not only were the elders of the town the heads of the clan but the entire industry of the town was organized and monopolized by the clan. It is at least possible that many of the earliest guilds may have originated thus. This theory could have two forms: either these towns, originally dominated by those of one blood, took in members of other clans as they enlarged but left the monopoly of their particular trade or trades in the hands of the original stock, thus forming guilds within the city population; or those of one blood and name, in going to a nearby town, formed a monopolistic association to protect the clan members in making a livelihood.

441 * 438 467 * (3) Another theory, which is advocated by Douglas, is that the guilds grew out of provincial or district associations. When persons of one district move to another place they frequently form associations for mutual protection. Douglas thus describes what he considers the origin of the commercial guilds:

A later development of trade has been the adoption of guilds,

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 174-189.

[2] *Cf.* p. 96.

*441 *467 438 whose halls are often among the handsomest buildings to be met with in the busy centres of trade. The idea first took shape in a curious way. Provincial mandarins on visiting the capital found that they were quite unable to cope singly with the exactions of the officials and the insults which their local pronunciations and provincial attires drew upon them from the people. They determined, therefore, to combine for mutual protection, and to establish guilds as common centres for protection in case of need, and for the more congenial purpose of social intercourse.

Strange as it may seem to those who only hear of the opposition shown by Chinamen to foreigners, it is yet a fact that a like hostility, though in a mitigated form, is commonly displayed towards natives of other provinces and districts. Like the provincial mandarins at Peking, travelling merchants found the advantage of being able to show a united front to the annoyances which they suffered from the natives of "outside provinces," and, following the example set in the capital, they founded provincial guilds in all parts of the country where trade or pleasure made their presence either necessary or convenient. Natives of Canton visiting Cheh-kiang or Hunan are now no longer subjected to the insults to which they were accustomed at the native inns. In their provincial guilds they may count on security and comfort, and if merchants, they are sure to find among the frequenters of the clubs either customers for their goods or vendors of the products which they may wish to buy. The more strictly mercantile guilds serve invaluable purposes in the promotion of trade. Each is presided over by a president, who is helped in the administration by a specially elected committee and a permanent secretary.[1]

Morse thus describes the preamble of the Ningpo Club, Wenchow:

Here at Wenchow we find ourselves isolated, mountains and seas separate us from Ningpo, and when in trading we excite the

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[1] Robert K. Douglas, *Society in China* (London, 1895), pp. 142-3.

> envy and hostility of the Wenchow traders, and suffer insult 441*
> and injury, we have no adequate means of redress. Mercantile 467*
> firms, if each looks only after its own interests, will experience 438
> disgrace and loss, the natural outcome of isolated and individual resistance. It is this which imposes on us the duty of establishing a club.[1]

In this study some evidence was found that some of the 467*
guilds in which membership was formerly confined to those 438
of one district may have originated in this way. The fol- 294
lowing description given by a representative of the Tailors Guild would bear out this theory:

> This profession, we are told, originated in the South. The tailors who first came to Peking found it very difficult to find a lodging-place; so they called a meeting of their fellow-tradesmen to discuss the difficulty. The first proposal was that one per cent of everyone's salary should be given towards the organization of the guild and the building of a guild headquarters. The fund asked proved insufficient, so customers were asked for contributions. With these funds the Guild House was established during the Ming dynasty.

The Actors, in like manner, originally came from Anhui, [536]
and it may be possible that the Actors Club originated in close identity with the Actors Provincial Club, although the available material does not furnish any evidence along
this line. The Water Carriers in Peking are almost en- [312
tirely from Shantung, and the Bankers are invariably from 453]
Shansi.

(4) Another explanation of the origin of the guild may 441*
be found in the study of the inherent reasons for guild organ- 467*
ization present both in contemporary Chinese society and in 651
the ancient social structure. From of old the officials have levied taxes of one kind or another on commercial trans-

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[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

*441 actions. Craftsmen and merchants united into guilds so
*467 that they might thereby be able to present a solid front
651 against excessive taxation. There is every evidence that such exploitation is very ancient, running back long before Confucius, Mencius, and other classical writers who commented on the unjust practices of officials. The guild may have arisen primarily as a means of protection from official exploitation.

*441 (5) The pressure of population upon the food supply in
*467 China has already been commented upon.[1] The economic need of a large part of the population and the fact that there literally was not enough food to go around, would be natural incentives toward the formation of monopolistic groups to protect group interests in a given area.

D. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE GUILD

*441 There are more recent references that show that guilds
*467 were in existence some hundreds of years ago. Marco Polo,
175 although not considered the most trustworthy of reporters, at least can be relied on in the matter of affirming the presence of guilds in China. He finds during the reign of Kubla Khan (1260-1294) a high development of guilds in Hangchow. There were in Hangchow twelve guilds of different crafts, and each guild had 12,000 houses occupied by its workmen.[2]

438 Douglas thus discusses the antiquity of commerce in China:

> As for everything else in China, a vast antiquity is claimed for the beginning of commerce. In the earliest native works extant mention occurs of the efforts made to barter the products of one district for those of another, and to dispose of the superfluous goods of China by exchange with the merchandise of the

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 30-31.

[2] Quoted by E. T. Williams in *China, Yesterday and Today*, p. 187.

neighboring countries. The subject was not considered beneath 438 the notice of the earliest philosophers, and Confucius on several occasions gave utterance to his views on the matter.[1]

There are many scattered references to the guilds in works on China published during the nineteenth century. The principal ones, however, have to do with the relations of foreign traders with guilds unlike the type discussed in this study, namely, what Morse terms the Guild Merchants. The dealings of traders of various countries with an organization of this nature known as the *Co-Hong* of Canton are discussed in great detail by Morse, Auber, and other writers on Chinese commercial history. As this type of guild is not included in this survey, it need not be discussed further.

But there are also references to the guilds of the type we 467* are studying. Peter Auber, in his well-known work *China,* 483 gives an interesting sidelight on the early effects of trade on the guilds. This note is dated 1831:

> In two districts in the immediate vicinity of Canton, and in another about twenty miles distant from it, very serious commotions have taken place among the natives at the introduction of cotton yarn. They loudly complain that it has deprived their women and children, who had previously been employed in the spinning of thread, of the means of subsistence. They have resolved not to employ the cotton yarn in the looms and have expressed their determination to burn any of it which may be brought to their villages.[2]

Morse also mentions struggles between the Chinese mer- 441* chants and the foreign traders, and shows the solidarity of 438 guild action in resistance to measures contrary to their interests. His note on the Tea Guild at Hankow illustrates this point:

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[1] Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

[2] Auber, *China: an Outline of its Government, Laws and Policy* (London, 1834), p. 64.

*441 438 In 1883 a long pending dispute between the gild and the foreign merchants came to a head, the gild complaining of the constant use of false weights by the Europeans, and the latter complaining of the constant false samples. The foreigners refused to accept the gild's suggestions for a settlement, and combined to stop buying tea. The gild accepted the challenge and gave orders to stop selling. In the issue thus joined, the bilateral boycott, the ever-united Chinese had the advantage over the ever-disunited Europeans and carried off the victory.[1]

E. The Founding of the Peking Guilds

*441 *467 The reports from the Peking guildsmen as to the date of founding of their guilds are frequently vague and indefinite, but they furnish interesting data regarding the history and development of the guilds. There is evidently confusion between the terms "founding" and "reorganizing." This same confusion was found in the reports given to Mr. Gamble.[2] Evidently during the long histories of these organizations there have been frequent dissolutions especially at the end of a dynasty, with subsequent reorganization of the guilds. Possibly the new dynasties promulgated new regulations for these organizations, or it may have been that in such cases as the Tai Ping Rebellion trade was so disorganized that the old associations ceased to function, and later, in peaceful times, were reorganized. Table V gives the reported dates of the founding of the Peking guilds. The larger number of guilds were reported as being "founded" (which probably means "reorganized") in the reign of Kwang Hsu and during the first years of the Republic. The coming of foreign trade during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the many economic changes incurred thereby would seem sufficient reason for the reorganization

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*

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TABLE V

REPORTED DATES OF FOUNDING OF PEKING GUILDS

	No. Founded	Reorganized.
Ming Dynasty 1368–1628	3	
"Close of the Ming Dynasty"	1	
Manchu Dynasty		
Shun Chih 1644–1661		
Kang Hsi 1661–1722	2	
Yung Cheng 1722–1736		
Chien Lung 1736–1796	2	
Chia Ching 1796–1820............	2	
Tao Kwang 1820–1850	3	1
Hsien Feng 1850–1860	3	1
Tung Chih 1860–1875	3	
Kwang Hsu 1875–1908...........	7	2
Hsuan Tung 1908–1912	1	
The Republic of China 1912-	8	3
	35	
Date unknown	7	
Total	42	

of old guilds and possibly for the formation of entirely new ones. The great innovations that took place under the Republic would point to the necessity of reorganization or the founding of new associations.

The only three guilds which are reported as founded in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1628) are the Tailors, the Leather Box Makers, and the Confectionery Makers.

F. THE HISTORY OF THE PEKING GUILDS

Miscellaneous data regarding the history of certain of the guilds are included in the Appendix.[1] The various types of historical information enumerated by the guildsmen may be roughly classified as follows: (1) Description of pre-guild conditions, as, for example, the Carpenters' report that before the guild was founded there were "no system, no or-

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 257-261.

*441 *467 ganized body, and no standardized wages." The preambles of certain of the guilds have this type of information. (2) Descriptions of strikes. The Awning Makers tell us that nearly every year since 1912 there has been a strike by the workmen demanding of the masters an increase of wages. (3) Description of the contests between related guilds. The Confectionery Makers tell of demands on Confectionery Stores for the raising of prices, and the Shoe Fasteners Guild tells of striking for higher pay from the Shoe Stores. (4) References to reorganization. Many guilds report the years in which their associations were reorganized and the years in which they were particularly prosperous. (5) The province where guildsmen originally came from. The Painters were originally "always all Shansi men." The Actors came from Anhui. The Tailors come from the South. (6) Names and descriptions of the men who founded or reorganized the guilds. The Cloisonné Designers tell of the origin of the name "Cloisonné," in Chinese *Ching Tai Lan* [named from the Emperor Ching Tai, (A. D. 1450-1465)].

> The emperor one night dreamed of a throne made of cloisonné. When he woke up next morning he called skilled workmen to him and explained to them the character of the throne he dreamed of. They constructed it according to his plan. From that time onward the making of this art product became a permanent industry which today is called Ching Tai Lan.

The more recent founders of the guilds are frequently described, as, for example, the founder of the Shoe Sole Guild.

> Previous to the organization of this guild, one of the workers, we are told, dressed as a Taoist priest and carrying on his back the image of the mythological founder of the craft, Lung Pin, went about asking for funds to construct a temple to his revered master.

This was the occasion of the founding of the guild during the reign of Hsien Feng (1850-60). (7) Contest with government officials. Many details are given by the Rice and Flour Guild of the practice by officials of imposing unjust taxes and of the consequent organization of the workers to meet this difficulty. The Mutton Shops found it necessary to cooperate in order to withstand the increase of taxes. (8) The protection of the group from newcomers. It is clear from the report of the Kitchen Coolies that their guild was originally founded to protect the workers against the competition of newcomers, and thus to retain a virtual monopoly of their profession. 441* 467*

CHAPTER III

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF THREE PEKING GUILDS

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It will perhaps be best to picture in some detail the general pattern of the Peking guilds before analyzing comparatively our forty-two case studies. The Porters Guild, the Carpenters Guild and the Guild of the Blind have been selected as typical examples.

A. The Porters Guild

In the Porters or Carriers Guild we find a close-knit group of men who monopolize one form of semi-skilled labor in a definite area in the capital. There are different ways of carrying goods, designated in the Chinese language by different expressions. The term *kang chien* is used to describe the work of this guild and means to carry or balance an object such as baggage or furniture on the shoulder. This balancing is difficult and is learned only by considerable practice.

The Porters Guild is known as the *Kung Yi Chang Shan Cha Yeh Sheng Hui*. This means literally "The Public Welfare Enduring Righteousness Holy Tea Association." The central office is located in a temple in the Southern or Chinese City of Peking on a well-known street called *Nan Hsiao Shih* (South Small Market) in the temple known as the *Niang Niang Miao* (The Temple of Our Lady).

According to Mr. Liu, the head of the guild, the object of the association is frankly "to prevent outsiders from carrying goods."

Mr. Liu has written a description of the guild's activities

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under the Manchu Dynasty. The detailed specifications of the area and the character of the monopoly show vividly a very definite set of privileges enjoyed by the carriers. A close connection with the Manchu Court indicates also that certain services are demanded in exchange for these privileges. The following description is given largely in the words of Mr. Liu.

"In the Manchu Dynasty at the death of a royal concubine six groups of eighty persons each were required to carry the coffin in turn." There existed in Peking a system of special area monopolies for certain types of transporters. These special monopoly areas or concessions were known as "passes." There were fifty "passes" for funeral carriers, nine "passes" for carters and two "passes" for porters — a total of sixty-one "passes." In the case of the funerals mentioned the magistrates of two counties that have their headquarters in Peking, the Ta Hsing Hsien and the Wan P'ing Hsien, summoned ten from each of these "passes" to take their turn in carrying the coffin. In enumerating these types of coolies, however, our informant says, "those who carry coffins, those who carry sedan chairs, the cart drivers and the porters." If the ten carriers from any one "pass" are absent, the group is fined six taels of silver. This is an illustration of the services imposed upon the carriers by the Court. There is no evidence that there was regular pay for such services, but there probably was an ample tip.

The exact location of the special monopoly areas of the two porter "passes" is given: "One from *Ta Shih* (Big Market) at the *Ching Chung Miao* (Refined Loyalty Temple) to the *Chuang Yuan Chiao* (Scholar of Highest Rank Bridge) and the other from the last named bridge to the *Hung Chiao* (Red Bridge)." The places here mentioned are all in the Southern or Chinese City.

*467 482 A system of fines was established to keep the porters in their own areas. At present if a group from one "pass" carries goods in another area he must pay to the other "pass" four cents on each dollar he earns while carrying goods in the forbidden area. This fine is then four per cent of his receipts. Formerly he had to pay two coppers on each ten coppers earned or twenty per cent. There appears to be in all the guilds in Peking this general tendency to lessen rigorous discipline. Within the "pass" there was, moreover, a rule against the stealing of a fellow-guildsman's business. "One cannot carry the things for which others have bargained."

Two reasons or "purposes" in addition to the advantages gained from monopoly are given for the founding of the guild — the insuring of protection against another group that formerly treated the porters badly and the acquiring of an important religious privilege.

Many furniture stores of the Southern City used these porters to carry goods to the homes of purchasers. The carriers were supposed to collect the money for the goods and take it to the stores. The porters give "persecution" by the storekeepers as one of the "reasons" for founding their guild. If the carrier failed to bring back the money for the purchases he was locked in the store and kept a virtual prisoner until he "paid up." When the guild was formed the "persecution" was discontinued. Evidently the cause for the "persecution" was also removed! Under guild organization, and with definite groups within the guild, each with its responsible head, the individual irresponsible coolie or an irresponsible group of coolies no longer failed to give over the purchasers' payments.

*467 482 788 The other "reason" for the founding of the guild was the yearly pilgrimage of practically the whole guild to a temple some thirty miles from Peking. How this particular

guild came to assume special religious obligations to make 467*
this yearly pilgrimage is not clear from the records. Pos- 482
sibly at first the porters carried the supplies to the stores and 788
tea booths erected by philanthropists in the vicinity of the temple to serve pilgrims coming to the yearly festival, and later they themselves became interested in the trip primarily in order to worship at the temple. At present the porters very evidently consider the trip as an act of worship.[1]

The monopolistic right both of the ordinary porter and 467*
of the head of the groups within the "pass" had a definite 482
market value. "If the porter wants to sell his right to carrying things in his particular 'pass' he can get forty to fifty taels ($55.56 or $69.45). The buyer must provide two tables of feasts for guests (food for twenty persons)." The price for securing the more coveted position of leader of one of these groups is higher and the transaction more elaborate. Tea is served, presumably at the guild headquarters, for the public so that all may know of the transaction. The price for the transfer is $70, and a feast for twenty persons must also be served. As the present minimum wage for porters is 200 coppers ($.58) a day, the price for this last mentioned transfer (at the rate of exchange used in this study), without counting the expense of the feast, would be the equivalent of the wages for one hundred and twenty days' work. The fact that these privileges are sold for such a high price indicates both the economic value of the monopoly and its security.

The exact date of the founding of the guild is not known. It is stated that "the Holy Tea Association (in its present form) was established in the seventh year of the Emperor Hsien Feng (1857) and became well known in the city by the fourth year of Tung Chih (1865)." As in the case of many other guilds we thus have the record that the guild was "founded," "established" or "reestablished" in the

*467 482 latter half of the nineteenth century. Similar information was given so often in the case of guilds believed to be very ancient that it seems safe to assume that these terms mean merely some definite type of reorganization and therefore throw no light on the original founding of the guilds.

Membership in the guild has become more restricted in recent years. Formerly any one who was duly approved was eligible to membership. His initiation fee was one tael ($1.39) payable each year for five years. There was also an apprentice system. Any one who finished satisfactorily one year of apprenticeship might be "counted as a member," though he must also be guaranteed by three members. He is also introduced to the stores where the porters have dealings. Those who guarantee the new member are held responsible for his good conduct.

*467 482 594 In more recent years the guild membership has been confined to "sons and brothers of guild members." The question as to why the base of membership was changed introduces an interesting field of speculation. It seems probable that in former days when there was a special relationship to the Court and when there were fewer or no jinrickishaws and of course no modern motor vehicles, the porters were more in demand than at present. With the coming of competitive groups the membership of the guild probably decreased in size. It is not surprising, then, with the background of family clan solidarity on the one hand and great economic pressure on the other, that the decreasing number of coveted positions should be reserved by present guildsmen for their immediate relatives. Initiation into the guild consisted in being conducted by one of the "elders" to the Niang Niang Temple and in the burning of incense by the new member.

*467 482 This organization had a distinctive method of collecting dues. The guild had arrangements with several of the

furniture dealers whereby they were permitted to leave 467*
special cash boxes for guild use in the stores. Formerly 482
when any group of guildsmen had finished a job one out of every ten coppers made was deposited in the cash box in the nearest of these stores. At present one out of every fifty coppers is thus deposited.

The guild head reported that the chief advantage of 464
membership was that only members have the privilege of working. "They must be members, otherwise they are not eligible to do the work." It must not be forgotten that with the great surplus of labor and the appalling poverty in Peking, it is a privilege of a high order to have a steady job that no one can take away from you.

The emphasis throughout this report on the value of 467*
monopoly raises the question as to whether or not this emphasis 482
is owing to the decadent condition of the guild. Presumably in older days these porters carried on a function of greater social importance than the present one. There probably was a larger number of porters and more work done, and the porters had a definite relationship to Court functions. The guild no doubt had steady influx of new members. Possibly there was pride in the quality of service rendered as well as satisfaction in the sense of security that the monopoly offered. With the decreasing membership and the narrowing of the functions the whole aim appears to be to hold fast for themselves and their relatives their precious economic privileges.

The guild is organized as follows: There are two "passes" in the Southern City. The Western "pass" has 40 "leaders" and 70 porters, while the Eastern "pass" has 4 leaders and 23 or 24 porters. The guild's operations are thus confined entirely to the Southern part of the city of Peking. The guild has approximately 180 members. It is ruled by four "elders," three from the West division and one from

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the East divison. The group "leaders" are considered as minor officials of the guild. These minor officials are in charge of the arrangements for the transportation of goods and are "responsible for all loss" of property handled. The work of the "elders" is to mediate between members when in dispute or in trouble and to prepare for religious observances. The "elders" also have general supervision of finances. They see that the money is collected from the cash boxes for the yearly pilgrimage. A slip signed by the "elders" is required to authorize any payment by the treasurer. The office of elder is held for life or until the elder resigns. The position is "hereditary." Not only is membership in the guild now hereditary, but leadership is the special right of particular families.

Discipline in the guild is also in the hands of the elders. They have the right to "discharge an offending member" and to fine "those who have made trouble with others or who drink wine at the *Miao Feng Shan* (the temple to which they go on the pilgrimage). When two workers fight over getting a certain job the elders see that neither one gets it and turn the work over to another. For slight offenses the punishment is a payment of incense to be used at either of the yearly religious meetings. Grave offenses are punished by expulsion from the guild. "Punishments are determined by the elders and made public at the general meeting on the seventeenth day of the ninth moon." This refers to the yearly meeting at the Peking temple.

That in the mind of the head of the guild, who gave us our information, the leader's authority is reinforced by the members of the guild, is clear from this sentence: "Punishments must always be enforced. If the offender does not obey (the decison of the elders) he will have the whole group to deal with." Another evidence of the potential power of the rank and file is indicated by this statement:

"If a head porter is too stingy he may be boycotted." The group head, who grinds the carriers down to the last copper and who keeps all the tips and profits above the regular wages, is likely to find a sullen group of men on his hands who are unwilling to undertake the job he has contracted for. 467* 482

Our informant, when asked to analyze the source of the guild's authority over the action of its members, checked off the following headings: "fear, tradition, mutual advantage, the personal influence of leaders." He added, significantly, in his own words, "the problem of a living." The guild insures that great essential, the full rice bowl.

Although the system of apprenticeship has now been abolished, certain details are reported regarding the past system. "The apprentice would divide his earnings with his master at the ratio of four to six." The term of apprenticeship was only one year. In semi-skilled labor, such as was carried on by the porters, it is natural that the time for training should be greatly reduced from the usual three years and three months required by most of the craft guilds.[1] The large proportion of earnings kept by the apprentices is very different from the custom in most guilds, where apprentices receive no regular earnings, but only special gifts or rewards at the festival season.

Two guild functions mentioned are the fixing of a minimum wage and the detailed regulation of the division of money for any one job carried out by a group of porters when the total amount is more than is required to pay the recognized wage to all concerned. The established minimum wage is 200 coppers ($.58). The amount actually bargained for a specific job is determined by the head of the group concerned and the person who employs the porters. Definite wages are paid the common porters. The profits on the job over and above these wages go in the West section or "pass" 465 467* 482

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[1] *Cf.* p. 160.

*467 to the head of the group who made the bargain. In the East
482 section or " pass " the surplus is divided among all who
465 did the work. Furthermore, in the West section individual porters cannot bargain for a job directly. They must do only work agreed upon by the head of their group. The implication is that in the East section such direct bargaining is allowed. Here, then, we have minute regulations differing between the two divisions of this small guild, indicating a very fine differentiation and standardization of customary practice.

*467 In discussing the functions of this guild, the head man
482 reiterated the importance of the monopoly privilege. " Nonmembers are not allowed to carry goods for pay." The guild's principal function, then, is to see that no one other than a guild member carries on this type of work in guild territory.

782 Unlike most of the guilds studied, which have only one
*467 yearly meeting, this guild has two regular meetings, one at the *Miao Feng Shan,* or temple, on the sixth day of the fourth month, which is the objective of the yearly pilgrimage and the other at the Temple in Peking, the *Niang Niang Miao,* on the seventeenth day of the ninth month.

At the regular Peking meeting both the Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother and the God of Wealth, the other special patron saint of the guild, are worshiped. Incense is burned before them. Two feasts, instead of the usual one given by most guilds, are celebrated. These feasts are considered as primarily for the " guild gods." [1]

*467 At this meeting " reports of the past accomplishments "
482 of the guild are made. " Lectures on duty and conduct " are given. " The ill-behaved are publicly warned." Only important matters are brought up for settlement. All minor matters are " settled by the elders." There is " full attend-

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[1] The details of the religious ritual are given on pp. 181-182.

ance" and every one pays his dues. The total income reported for the last calendar year was 40,000 coppers ($115.94). The guild evidently owns part or all of the *Niang Niang Miao,* for it received "$70 rent from the temple" yearly. Additional funds are secured from "donations of incense money" by individuals, which may amount in each case to "several tens of coppers up to $1.00." 482 467*

The religious ceremonies of this guild are more complicated than those of most of the organizations studied, for, as has been stated, there are two centers of worship: the temple thirty miles from Peking in the hills, known as the *Miao Feng Shan,* and the temple in Peking, the *Niang Niang Miao.* The feast and ceremonies in the Peking temple are reported to cost $70.00. On the sixth day of the fourth moon, after going by foot on the thirty-mile pilgrimage to the mountain temple, the goddess *Tien Hsien Sheng Mu* (Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother) is worshiped. Many details are given us regarding this pilgrimage. 467* 482 788

The elders collect the money that has been deposited by the members in the cash boxes and organize the expedition. Large supplies of food are purchased for the travelers during the journey and the stay at the temple. The inventory of what is bought each year is as follows: 15 bags flour of Machine Brand,[1] 900 catties[2] of native flour, 300 catties of rice, 40 catties of kidney beans, 40 catties of vermicelli, 25 catties of salt. These provisions are transported in thirteen two-horse carts. If the funds of the guild treasury are insufficient for the expedition, all who take part in the pilgrimage help make up the deficit. Payment is made in four installments, each member being assessed from "several cents to more than $1.00."

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[1] A common Western imported brand of flour sold in bags weighing about 53 lbs.

[2] One catty = 1⅓ pounds

*467 482 788 After arriving at their destination, the guildsmen join with other porters from outside the city and with cart-drivers in worshiping the mythological goddess of the Chinese pantheon, the Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother. One bunch of incense is burned in Peking at the guild temple before starting on the expedition, and another after returning. The total cost of the pilgrimage is estimated at $300.

On the way to the temple it is customary for the porters to present packages of tea leaves to the many tea booths along the wayside which serve the pilgrims. This gift is listed in the guild head's report as a "charity" of the guild. "There are about 40 tea stations along the road to *Miao Feng Shan* and to each the porters will donate either four catties of tea leaves, or one catty and 80 coppers ($.23) of incense money. Ten catties of tea leaves are presented to the *Miao Feng Shan* temple." In both the temples where the porters worship, the elders officiate during the ceremony. They arrange the incense and light it. They lead their fellow guildsmen in bowing with their heads to the ground three times before the guild god.

*467 482 We are told that the guild is not so prosperous as in days of old. Formerly, during the Manchu Dynasty, when tribute messengers came from distant parts to the Court, the porters were used to carry their gifts and baggage. It is probable that many of these bearers of tribute may have come in through the southern gate of the Southern City of Peking and have passed through the monopoly area of this guild.

In spite of hard times, the guild head assures us that his organization is a close-knit and loyal group. In his own words, because of the hereditary monopoly of the guild, "the solidarity (of our members) could not be bad."

There was one revealing sentence regarding the former relation to the government: "Formerly (the guild was) under the control of the *Nan Cheng Ssu* (Southern City Police Headquarters) but not now." In another place he tells us a payment of 40 taels ($55.56) was necessary to buy a permit from *Nan Cheng Ssu* before a title of leader (of a group) was valid. It is evident that in the prosperous days when there was a change of leadership, the police got a fixed percentage before the transaction was valid. 467* 482 656

We have, then, been describing an organization which constitutes a hereditary monopoly of what formerly was a rather significant and important occupation in the capital. We find evidence down to the present day of a very detailed organization and minute regulations. Since 1912 there has been no Manchu Court to which tribute could be brought. It is highly probable that much of the baggage corresponding to what was formerly carried by these porters now comes in by train either from the Southwest or from the East, thus eliminating in many cases the necessity of transportation by hand over the area monopolized by the guild. The close relation not only to the Court but to the police has been discontinued; but the ancient beliefs are cherished and many ancient regulations still persist in great detail. 467* 482

B. THE CARPENTERS GUILD

The Carpenters Guild of Peking is known as the "Sacred Society of Lu Pan," the supposed originator of the carpenters' craft. It includes the ordinary house-builders and the carvers of wooden ornaments, but does not take in the furniture menders, who have a guild of their own. Its headquarters are at the *Ching Chung Miao* (Refined Loyalty Temple) in the Southern City in Peking. The description here given, unless otherwise indicated, is based entirely on information gathered by Mr. Chang, the nephew of the priest, through interviews with another Mr. Chang, aged about fifty, the foreman of the carpenters' shop. In the fol- 467* 335

*467 lowing description the "Mr. Chang" referred to is the
335 foreman.

In estimating the purpose of the founding of the guild Mr. Chang indicated that besides "protection from officials" and the "discouraging of competition" (mentioned in our questionnaire) other essential objects were "the standardization of wages" and "religious worship." In his own words, the guild was founded "to worship the master and thus express gratitude to the founder for originating the craft." He also adds, "to secure united good feeling and to unify the body" (of craftsmen). The workmen feel the bonds of close relationship between themselves and the revered founder and have a sense of solidarity and fellowship within their group.

"The date of the founding of the guild is too remote to trace. The only thing which remains clear is that the guild was reorganized in the reign of (the Manchu emperor) *Hsien Feng* (1851-52) in cooperation with the masons." This is the only statement we have regarding the founding of this important guild. The common folk-story regarding the guild's founding is given by Mr. Gamble in *Peking: A Social Survey,*[1] and is referred to later in this text.[2]

Mr. Chang tells us that previous to the founding of the guild there was "no system, no organized body, and no standardized wages." He is obviously merely referring to the absence in pre-guild days of what he considers the essential characteristics of present-day guilds. Just what form of relationship existed between the carpenters before the founding of the guild is a matter of speculation.

Carpenters or rough wood carvers, either those in charge of shops or working in them, or individual craftsmen not attached to shops, are eligible for membership in the guild.

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[1] P. 175.

[2] *Cf.*, p. 100.

The apprentices, however, as is usual in Peking crafts, cannot be full members until they have finished their training. New members are admitted at the yearly meetings of the guild. They are "invited" to join, but obviously the invitation is of a compulsory nature, for they are not allowed to carry on their trade unless they join. The initial ceremony consists in the paying of fees, the securing of a guild permit to do work in the area where the guild operates, the customary bowing three times with the head to the floor, and the burning of incense before the guild founder's picture. The privileges of membership are "to receive the standard wage, to have a proper place for burial, and to inspect the affairs of the guild." The guildsman, when working, is sure of a standard wage. The guild will support him in his demand for a certain minimum wage from the shop head under whom he is working or from an individual with whom he has contracted for a job. He is sure of a place for burial in the plot of ground owned by the guild for this purpose; even if his family has not the money to pay the expenses, he will be given a proper burial at the expense of the guild. The guildsman also has the advantage of having his "say" in the affairs of the guild.

The foreman interviewed considered that the average carpenter was interested in joining the organization for the following reasons: (1) it gave him the privilege of offering sacrifice to the master; (2) it insured for him a fraternal membership in a unified fellowship; and (3) it insured for him the hope of an increase in wages in case of a rise in prices or an unfavorable change in exchange. These three ideas are reiterated in differing phrases throughout the questionnaire. Members are interested in the religious worship, in the fellowship of the guildsmen and in the economic advantages derived from the organization. Mr. Chang significantly adds, "The hardships in recent years because of the

*467 335 struggle for life make the workers feel more keenly the necessity of having an organized body. Otherwise they cannot raise the wages." Mr. Gamble, in his detailed study of *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking,* gives us the details of the rapidly changing prices and wages in Peking. War, famine and general political disorganization have in recent years severely affected the economic life of the Chinese capital. However, it is interesting to note that previous to 1924 wages had been increased six times among the carpenters in the six preceding years.[1] The conviction that the guild would help the worker to secure an increase in wages has been justified by the experience of recent years.

There are approximately 4,000 members in this organization. They are divided into six groups according to their geographical location, five groups being in Peking and the sixth in the nearby village to the northwest called Hai Tien,[2] which was formerly the main trading center for the imperial guard of the Court.

Each of these six areas has twenty representatives chosen by the carpenters residing in the respective areas. The affairs of the guild are conducted alternately by these committees of twenty, each group serving for one year. It is quite clear that Mr. Chang thinks these committees truly represent the united will of the carpenters of the particular area. He says, "By this system each section is in charge, not merely the leaders whom they appoint."

*467 335 888 The question regarding the type of leaders elected to office in guild affairs elicited this reply: "Although the aged and virtuous are usually elected to office, they do not want to bear the responsibility and to waste time, and consequently resign, which gives the bad element opportunity to manip-

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[1] Meng and Gamble, *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking* (Peking, 1926), pp. 105-6.

[2] *Cf.* p. 44.

467* 335 888

ulate the affairs of the guild." Are we right in sensing behind these words the fear of an old guildsman of a new and younger type of leadership? Mr. Chang appears to correlate in his mind the aged and the virtuous. Mr. Chiao, the priest, said that at the regular yearly election the most aged and respected automatically became head of the guild. It has in the past been customary, as in the Chinese villages,[1] for age and standing automatically to give authority. It is quite possible that in recent years, as the carpenters more and more have been contracting for the erection of foreign-style buildings, and sometimes actually competing with foreign contractors, a new type of leadership has been found desirable. The complaint of the experienced foreman that the respected elders frequently resign from their positions may indicate inability on their part to adapt themselves to new conditions and a necessity for younger men to take the lead.

467* 335

The duties of these committees are thus described: The committee "conducts the business of the guild such as making preparation for worship, buying a piece of land for a cemetery, increasing the wages (this evidently means suggesting a schedule for increasing wages) and keeping the members informed of the resolutions passed by the guild." In another place is added the following list of duties: "determining the amount of the membership fee (this also evidently means a suggestion for the guild's approval), the collecting of dues, trying to find rule-breakers and generally taking charge of the business of the guild." The qualifying word "trying" is significant and would fall in with the general picture of the decreasing power of the guilds to enforce their regulations. The officials in charge, meaning the committee for the year, when there is urgent business to be transacted which cannot wait for the annual meeting, will

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[1] Kulp, *Country Life in South China*, p. 110.

*467 335 call together a meeting of representatives of the six districts "at some tea house" to discuss procedure.

Guild meetings may be divided roughly into three types: (a) The informal conferences either of the committee or of the committee and representatives called from the other five districts. (b) A preliminary meeting held in the third month if there is to be a change in the wage scale. (c) The general or religious meeting held always on the fifth day of the fifth month.

At the informal conferences such matters as the following are discussed: The suggesting to the annual guild meeting of a change of wages, details regarding ceremony of worship, emergency matters which cannot wait for the guild
465 meeting. At the preliminary meeting in the third month the main subject is a change in the wage scale. We are told both in conversation with Mr. Chiao and in the written report that often the discussion regarding wages waxes very warm and there are frequent cases of fist fights which sometimes make it necessary to bring in the police to settle the dispute; but when the wage is once determined upon it is considered as the fixed minimum until a further decision of the
782 guild. At the general meeting which is held in the *Ching Chung Temple,* the invitation to which reads as a call to worship Lu Pan, the founder of the guild, and to prepare a feast and a play for him, the religious ceremony is the central feature. The committee in charge for the year meets the day before to make full preparations. The members as they arrive register and pay their fees for the year. Each guildsman worships before the Master Lu Pan as soon as he has registered. Later a play is given by professional actors. Before and after the play and between the acts business is discussed. The guild rules are read, an announcement is made regarding the punishment of offenders and the names of absent members are read. On the day of the religious cere-

mony the officials have a feast, but the ordinary members, 782
probably because their number is too great, do not observe this part of the ceremony.

The income of the guild is derived almost entirely from 467*
membership dues. The ordinary member pays 70 coppers 335
($.20) a year while the officials who have the privilege of the feast pay twice that amount. The average yearly income is reported roughly as 200,000 coppers ($579.71), but for the last calendar year (1925) the income was reported as well over 300,000 coppers ($869.56). Mr. Gamble's study of the wages of Peking indicates that because of the fall of the value of coppers the wage scale in 1924 was changed to a silver basis.[1] It is probable that because of the increase in wages more dues were paid than usual.

Outside of the annual dues "very little is received from fines, for no one would report on the non-member because of fear of hurting people." Here, also, there seems some indication of the weakening power of the guild. In some cases at least carpenters are carrying out their work without joining the guild and the guild members are afraid to report them for fear of causing offense. But "most of them (the carpenters in Peking) are members. As no one reports upon them it is not known how many non-members there are."

The procedure followed by the officials when guild members refuse to pay their dues is described as follows: "The officials in charge for the year make demands in person for the dues. If they are not paid an additional fine is charged which consists either in buying incense (to be used in the worship of the guild god) or in paying several tens of coppers. In very serious cases the offenders are sometimes forced to kneel down before the burning incense (in front of the image of the guild founder)." Evidently, the height of humiliation is the necessity of bowing in the presence of

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[1] Meng and Gamble, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

*467 335 the revered guild founder and thus publicly acknowledging one's fault. The last resort in case of the failure of all other measures is expulsion from the guild.

The term of apprenticeship is the usual three years and three months or three years and one festival season. A youth applying for an apprenticeship in a shop must have two or more guarantors who stand responsible for his good conduct. No written contract is made. The clothing is supplied for the apprenticeship period by the apprentice or his family. He is given food and lodging in the shop. 465 Apprentices who work for masters who have no shops pay for their own food and receive the wages of unskilled laborers. The conditions of food and shelter are described as ordinary, " not very bad." This, of course, is an extremely indefinite statement. At the time of the study the fixed wage determined on at the previous annual meeting was $.75 a day. It was considered that $.20 of this was for food and $.55 for wages proper. In case the carpenters were working out and buying their own food they received $.75, but if working in a shop where food was supplied, only $.55.

*467 335 The hours of work are in general from sunrise to sunset, varying consequently according to the time of year. The usual daily schedule is described thus: " The workers commence operations at sunrise and work for two hours. They then take breakfast, after which they work until noon, at which time they drink tea and rest, commencing work again at one o'clock and continuing until three, at which time luncheon is served. After lunch they work again until sunset."

*467 465 335 The following information is given regarding the criteria for determining wages: " Wages are determined according to the standard of living. The increase of wages is usually in the spring." This general statement corresponds closely

with Mr. Gamble's study of wages in Peking. He points 467*
out that because of the close personal relations between head 465
carpenters and their workmen and apprentices, the heads 335
know the actual living conditions of the workmen. The
artisan is accustomed to a very simple standard of living.
If he can maintain that standard he is content. If changes
in prices or in money exchange threaten his standard, the
guild very quickly changes the rate of pay.[1] The carpenters, 467*
like most skilled artisans in Peking, have no representative 335
of their guild in the general Chamber of Commerce; but 333
unlike most of the guilds in the city, they have a very close 338
working relation with two other guilds, namely, the masons and the painters. Formerly the carpenters and masons belonged to one guild. The reasons for this cooperative relation given by Mr. Chang are: (1) all three worship the same guild founder; (2) because of the similarity of trades, all being related to the building occupation, it is the custom to increase wages in all three groups at the same time; (3) in the construction of buildings the three groups necessarily cooperate. In recent years many members of these three guilds have been engaged in the construction in Peking of Western-style as well as Chinese-style buildings. In all three trades it has been necessary to adapt the age-long practice of the craft to the demands of Westerners or of Chinese who had a Western preference for buildings constructed in other than the Chinese style. Frequently, also, it has been necessary to deal with foreign contractors in construction work such as the residences of missionaries, the hotels and the Union Medical College buildings. An attempt to establish a super-guild to include these three groups, to be known as the Lu Pan Industrial Union, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble. The failure of this attempt,

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[1] Meng Gamble, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-106.

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*467 studied by Mr. Gamble in 1919, is evidenced by our in-
[333 ability in 1925-26 to find any trace of the union.

338] When Mr. Chang, the old guildsman who gave the report, was asked wherein lay the real source of the guild's authority, he said he thought that a " sincere belief in the master," the " strict adherence " to traditional custom, the " sense of unity " among guild members, and the custom of deciding questions by " majority rule " were the elements that gave the guild its authority and elicited the loyalty of its members. In checking off the elements we had listed as forces which held the guild together, he indicated the following: (a) fear, (b) tradition, (c) respect for superiors, (d) mutual advantage of the members; and added again, " a
776 sincere belief in the master." The mythological founder of
173 the carpenters' craft, Kung Shu Lu Pan, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble as follows:

> Lu Pan, who is worshiped as the founder of the craft of the carpenters and all wood-workers, lived in the Province of Shantung about the Fifth Century B. C. Tradition has it that he was the cleverest man of his generation; that he cultivated the principles of reason and religion, knew a great deal about medicine and made things out of wood. His skill in wood-working was such that he never wasted any wood, and he was able to do his sawing and cutting without the aid of the lines ordinarily used by the carpenters. He is known as the founder of all engineering work, for he made a sky ladder for use when attacking his enemies in the air. This ladder raised and lowered itself, and when fully raised reached the sky. The Chinese say that perhaps the modern airship is the result of the sky ladder of Lu Pan. He invented a wooden bird, which flew to the sky and did not come back for three days. This was followed as a pattern by the men of the Han Dynasty, who invented the paper kite, and so Lu Pan is looked on as the originator of all playthings.
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> Tai Shan was an apprentice of Lu Pan, but he was so stupid

that he was disliked by his master. Finally he felt so disgraced 776 by his inability to learn wood-working that he left Lu Pan and 173 went out to the mountains. As he sat there disconsolate, he noticed that all around him were groves of bamboo; and thinking that bamboo was very much like wood, he split it and made baskets, tables and chairs with it. As a result, he is the hero of the bamboo workers, who blame Lu Pan because he was not able to discover the abilities of his apparently dull apprentice.[1]

At the time of the yearly religious meeting in the guild 467* temple, a paper effigy of Lu Pan is made and on the wall to 335 the right and to the left of this effigy are pictures of promi- 782 nent deceased heads and members of the guild. The arrangements for the religious ceremony are in the hands of the committee for the year. Offerings of food are prepared and placed before the effigy. Also, paper money of the kind similar to that used at funerals and imitation silver "shoes," or conical-shaped structures of silver paper corresponding in size to the silver ingots customarily used in Chinese business transactions, are placed before the effigy. Likewise, smaller offerings of food are placed before the various photographs of the deceased members. Incense is kept burning before the effigy and the pictures.

Each guildsman after registering kowtows (kneels and bows three times with head to the ground from kneeling position) before Lu Pan and the portraits of the guild founders. After the ceremony a play provided by actors hired by the guild is given, presumably for the guild spirit, but to the great enjoyment of the guild members.

It is significant that Mr. H. C. Chang, our investigator, before studying the guild personally had thought that the religious features of these organizations were merely formal. After his study be expressed his own convictions regarding the guild as follows: "The main purpose in founding the

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-6.

*467 335 782 guild was to worship the master and to express thankfulness for his having handed down the technique (of carpentry). The members come to the guild meetings for the purpose of worship and religious observance."

465 The guildsman interviewed said that he saw signs of prosperity in his craft and that the membership was increasing: "The rent for houses is now high; therefore men are building new houses, and consequently there is more demand for carpenters. The wages also are increasing to keep pace with the rising cost of living." This general observation is in harmony with Mr. Gamble's study, *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking*. Because of the increasing cost of living the guild had changed the wages from a copper to a dollar basis, which meant a considerable increase.

*467 177 335 Several years before the Boxer Uprising of 1900, certain missionaries in Tung Chow, fifteen miles east of Peking, had been training carpenters in the methods of constructing foreign houses. There has also been an increasing demand for homes for missionaries and for Christian school buildings, for business houses, stores and, more recently, hotels, government colleges and schools constructed in the Western style, as well as a general demand on the part of many wealthy Chinese for foreign-style houses. As a result a very considerable number of these guildsmen are now trained in the methods of constructing buildings in the Western style.

Not only has the technique of the carpenters changed, but the attempt to form the Lu Pan Industrial Union referred to above signifies an endeavor to meet new conditions.

C. A MEETING OF THE BLIND GUILD

*467 732 In order to give a vivid picture of a meeting of one of the most colorful guilds in Peking, there follows an account of a meeting held in the spring of 1919 given by an eyewitness,

Mr. S. D. Gamble. This meeting must not be taken as 467*
typical of guild meetings in the city of Peking. The organ- 732
ization and regulations of the Blind Guild are, according to our study, the most complicated and detailed of any guild in the city. The general outline, however, shows the character of the business transacted at one of these annual meetings.

The Gild of the Blind, who make a business of singing, story [533
telling and entertaining, holds its meetings on the 2nd of the 538]
3rd month and the 8th of the 9th month, celebrating the Chinese festivals of the 3rd of the 3rd moon and the 9th of the 9th moon, as the meeting lasts until 5 o'clock the next morning. It was our good fortune to be given the privilege of attending one of these meetings. As the gild has no gild hall, it borrows the *Ching Chung Miao,* a temple in the South City, outside of Hatamen, and there, all day long, a constant stream of blind men was coming and going. They were greeting their friends, discussing politics and the conditions of business, and enjoying the tea and cakes that had been provided; and it was a strange sight to see so many blind people together, each with his long bamboo cane, tapping, tapping, tapping, as they moved around the hall. They were constantly calling back and forth across the hall as the men tried to locate their friends; and, when a group wanted to move from one part of the hall to another, they formed a line, each with his hand on the shoulder of the man in front of him, and were led by a man who still had a little vision and so could avoid chairs and tables. A very few women came to the meeting; they visited among themselves or listened to the business being transacted, but did not mingle with the men.

In the evening the executive council of forty-eight met to conduct the business of the gild. They gathered around a row of tables arranged in the shape of a tortoise shell. The twenty-four men on each side of the table all had different titles and duties as follows.

*467 Manager
732 President
627 Vice-President
Judge
Attorney-General
Prosecuting Attorney
Grand Jury
Jury of the Court
Sheriff
Counselor
Protector
Law Proctor
Witness
Adviser
Inspector
Investigator
Reporter
Chief of Police
Police
Executioner
Warrant Carrier
Time-keeper
Door-keeper
Servant of the Court

The office held by the different members of the executive committee[1] depended either upon lot or the choice of the general manager, for one of the men who came to sit with the foreign guests complained that he had been appointed executioner and did not like the job.

The worship of the gods of the gild was the first business of the meeting. On the raised platform at the upper end of the hall an altar had been arranged for the God of Heaven, the God of Earth, and the God of Men, from whom the gild gets its name of the "Three Emperors Associations." On the wall were hung the pictures of the three gods, the Emperor of Heaven being in the middle and slightly higher than the other two. In front of them, on a table, was spread a feast of chicken, pork, fish, wine, vegetables, fruit and rice. On the edge of the table burned two large candles and the incense offered to the gods. The members of the executive committee came up two by two, to offer to the gods their obeisance and thanks for the prosperity of the past year. They were directed in their worship by the secretary of the gild, the one officer who was not blind. First, they were required to straighten their clothing, then they bowed before the gods, and then went down on their knees and bowed their head to the floor in the "K'e t' ou," the Chinese sign of submission and reverence. The bow and the "K'e t' ou" were repeated three times, and then the next pair was brought up. All the time the worship was going on, music was furnished by six of the best musicians of the gild. 467* 732 782 [533]

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[1] [Guild of the blind--Analyst]

After all forty-eight of the officers had worshiped before the gods, the musicians gave a two-hour concert with their best songs and music. Any who had written new songs during the past year were called upon to give them at the time. Following the concert, the business meeting was held from 12 to 2. It consisted of reports and the discussion of methods for strengthening the gild, and of ways and means for making the business of the blind entertainers more prosperous. At the end of the meeting, a report giving a statement of the condition of the gild, a résumé of the business of the past year, and the names of all the officers, musicians, committeemen and subscribers, was burned on the altar, so that the gods might have a complete report of the work and development of the gild.

After the business meeting, the committee constituted itself a court, tried the cases of those who were accused of having broken the rules and regulations of the gild, and heard and attempted to settle cases where there had been a quarrel or dispute between any of the members. When the cases were brought before the court testimony was taken and a verdict rendered. Each of the members of the executive committee carried out the duties of the office to which he had been assigned. 467* 732 627

In the olden days, the gilds used to punish their younger members, when convicted of violating the important rules of the association, by sentencing them to 50, 70 or 100 strokes of the bamboo, according to the degree of their guilt. As the gild felt that no man could completely break a rule, the entire sentence was never carried out. If a man were sentenced to 100 blows, the executioner would give only 90. The older members were punished by a fine. Those convicted of a first degree offense were fined one tael ($1.39). For a second degree offense, the fine was seven mace (7/10 of a tael [$.97]) and for one of the third degree, three mace (3/10 of a tael [$.42]).

After the establishment of the Republic, the people denied the gild the right to use the bamboo and insisted that other punish-

*467 ments be used. As a result, the gild has found it hard to en-
732 force its rules, and but few trials have been held during the
627 last few years. The gild officers, however, are planning to suspend for a certain number of days those who break the rules of the gilds. Suspension will mean that the guilty one will be prevented from carrying on his business during those days, and it is hoped that in this way the members can once more be made to live up to the rules.

782 Following the trials, a feast was served to the committee and visitors who were still present; and then, after the burning of another paper before the gods, the meeting broke up about 5 a.m.[1]

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-174.

CHAPTER IV

NUMBER OF GUILDS, GUILD HALLS AND GUILD OFFICES

A. NUMBER OF GUILDS

IT has been extremely difficult to estimate even approximately the number of guilds in China's capital. Mr. Li An 467* 441* Che, an assistant in the Department of Sociology of Yenching University, Peking, after interviewing Mr. Chiao, the priest to whom reference was made in earlier chapters, wrote as follows: "The handcraft guilds are not registered at the central police office because of the fear that should they be legally registered, they might be liable to have law suits brought against them by the upper classes." Because of this failure to register it has been impossible, in spite of communications with the police department in Peking, to procure a complete list of these craft guilds.

It has been possible, however, to make a rough estimate of the number of guilds in Peking of the type here studied from various available lists. Mr. Gamble, in his study of 1919, named 34 Peking guilds. A complete list of the commercial guilds was secured through the Peking Chamber of Commerce, and a complete list of all guilds meeting at the *Ching Chung Miao* was obtained from Mr. Chiao. From these three lists and our own list of 42 organizations we were able to name 111 different guilds—40 craft, 11 professional, and 60 commercial. According to the above mentioned list, supplied by Mr. Chiao, a total of 34 craft and professional guilds meet at this temple. Mr. Chiao also informed us that more than one-half of the Peking guilds of these types meet at his temple. If this statement is accurate, *441 *467 there could not be more than another 34 such craft and professional guilds in the city, or a total of 68—34 meeting at the temple and 34 meeting elsewhere. In our own list of 111 it has been indicated that there are 40 craft and 11 professional guilds, or 51 guilds of the type under discussion. Subtracting 51 from 68 (the estimated total number of Peking craft and professional guilds) we arrive at the figure 17 as the approximate number of guilds of these two types which we have not already identified on our list of 111. It has already been shown that all commercial guilds in the Peking area are included in the Chamber of Commerce list. The approximate figure, then, for the total number of Peking guilds is 111 + 17, or 128.

B. Location of Guild Offices

There was a wide variation in the type of headquarters or offices for conducting the affairs of the guilds studied. The replies to our questions did not always make it clear whether the headquarters of the guild were in a building owned by the guild or in a rented building. It is clear, however, that in the case of sixteen guilds there are definite headquarters other than a temple where guild business is carried on. Mr. Gamble thus describes the buildings:

> [347] Some of these are beautiful buildings with large courtyards, attractive gardens, artificial rockeries and fine furnishings; others are small, plainly built and meagre in their furnishings. The amount of money spent on the gild hall depends entirely upon the prosperity of the members and their willingness to subscribe to the gild.[1]

Fifteen of the guilds meet in temples which are their regular headquarters. The most popular of these temples is *Ching Chung Miao,* above described.[2] Nineteen of the guilds

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[2] *Cf.* p. 51.

studied meet there, while four others meet at a well-known 441 *
temple in the East City, the *Ma Shen Miao* (Temple of the 467*
Spirit of the Horse). Three guilds meet in restaurants, while three others have their headquarters in provincial halls. Two commercial guilds meet in one of the stores of their trade, while three others have no fixed place of meeting. The last mentioned include the Vegetable Merchants, who have their temporary booth in the South City, the Leather Box Makers and the Mat Tent Builders.

C. List of Forty-Two Peking Guilds Studied, with a Brief Description of their Crafts, Trades and Professions

CRAFT GUILDS

Awning Makers—*Pu Ping Hang* (Cloth Tent Guild). 467*
Makers of awnings or tents of cloth, used in connection 286
with wedding or funeral ceremonies, in public markets and in the fronts of shops.

Carpenters—*Lu Pan Sheng Hui* (Sacred Lu Pan Society). 467 *
Lu Pan is the name of the mythological founder of the 335
guild.[1] Workers in wood, including house builders, ordinary carpenters, and those proficient in rough wood carving such as is used in connection with ordinary house construction. The skilled carvers of wood have another guild.

Cloth Pasters—*Ke Pei Hang Hui* (Cloth Filling Guild Association). 467 *
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Those who utilize old rags to make the fillings between the outer cloth covering and the inner cloth lining of Chinese shoes. Similar filling is made use of in the making of old-style Chinese skull caps—the usual type of Chinese hat before the introduction of Western-style

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[1] *Cf.* p. 100.

*467 295 head-covering. These artisans first wash the rags and then put them together on boards, making a rough padding which is utilized for the filling.

*467 326 323 Cloisonné Designers—*Pei Ching Chia Ssŭ Hang Kung Hui* (The Peking Fashion of Line [or Design] Public Guild Association).

The members of this organization perform one of the intricate processes in the making of cloisonné. They fashion the metal wires (of gold, silver, or other metal) into designs and attach them to the metal base of the ornament that is being manufactured. Other craftsmen put enamel between the openings within the design before the jars are fired in the kiln. The finished product is polished by another set of workmen. The members of this guild are confined to those engaged in the first process described.

*467 256 Confectionery Makers—*Hung Lu Hang* (Red or Glowing Stove Guild).

The makers of cakes cooked over the glowing coals in the Chinese-style brick and mortar stove.

*467 386 Dyers — *Tien Hang Shang Hui* (The Blue Commercial Guild Association).

Those who dye cloth in various colors. Why the particular color "blue" is picked out for the guild name, is not known.

*467 282 Leather Box Makers — *Pi Hsiang Hang* (Leather Box Guild).

The membership of this guild is confined to the manufacturers of a particularly strong and ornamental type of chest which is used in sending wedding presents, in storing silks, pottery, bronze, curios, or other valuables. The framework of the box is of wood, the inside lining of cloth and the outside covering of cowhide. The outside is lacquered in red. Frequently designs of flowers or landscapes are added in gold or silver color. The boxes have the usual strong brass handles and locks. 467* 282

Masons—*Wa Tzo* (*Lu Pan Sheng Hui*) (Tile Workers or the Sacred Society of Lu Pan[1]). 467* 333

Tile and brick layers who work with mortar, plaster or cement.

Mat Tent Builders—*Peng Hang* (Mat Tent Guild).

A more expensive type of temporary covering for weddings and funerals than the cloth tents made by the awning makers is the temporary structure made of wooden poles tied together with rope and covered with ordinary Chinese matting. These structures are used not only for the ceremonies mentioned, but also for markets, stores, skating rinks, theatrical performances, and to keep the heat of the sun from courtyards of Chinese residences. The mats are made of reeds but are not manufactured in the stores. 467* 285

Painters—*Yu Hang* (Paint Guild).

This group includes both the ordinary house painters and those who do rough decorative work with oil paints. 467* 338

Paper Hangers—*Ming Yi Piao Hu Hang Hui* (The Spirit World Clothes and Paper Pasters Guild Association).

The principal occupation of the members of this guild is similar to that of the ordinary paper hangers in the West. They, however, not only paste the paper on walls and ceilings, but also on the windows. Before the introduction of glass from the West in comparatively recent times, paper was used instead of window glass. In addition, these workers manufacture the various 467* [338] 778

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[1] *Cf.* p. 100.

*467 778 effigies and other paper models used in connection with funerals. These include paper figures representing servants, mule carts and mules, horses, silver taels and coins. During the funeral procession these figures are burned, the current belief being that in this way comforts are assured for the departed.

*467 295 Shoe Fasteners—*Feng Shang Hsüeh Hsieh Hang* or *Shuang Hsien Hang* (Sewers of Boots and Shoes Guild or Double Thread Guild).

The work of these guildsmen is one of the processes in making Chinese shoes or boots. Members of another guild make the cloth soles of shoes; another guild is primarily responsible for assembling the different parts of the shoe into the finished product; and still another, for repairing shoes. The members of this guild sew the top of the Chinese shoe to the sole and sew across the front of the shoe. This work is for the most part done in their own little shops, but sometimes members of the guild may be found in the ordinary shoemaker's shop, employed to do this specialized work.

*467 283 Silk Thread Makers—*Ssü Hsien Hang* (Silk Thread Guild). Members of this guild may be seen working in the open spaces near the moat south of the Manchu City in Peking. Two racks composed of two uprights and a long cross piece about six feet from the ground are built from forty to fifty yards apart. While one of the workers strings the silk thread from one rack to the other and back again, another pushes back and forth a substantial piece of wood which twists the fastening to which the thread is connected. Heavy silk thread or silk yarn is made in this manner. Members are engaged exclusively in spinning silk thread or yarn.

Table and Chair Makers — *Cho Yi Hang* (Table Chair Guild). 467* 322

Originally makers only of Chinese-style tables and chairs, they now also make foreign-style furniture.

Tailors—*Cheng Yi Hang* (Make Clothing Guild). 467* 294

The makers originally only of Chinese clothing but now also of foreign-style clothing.

Tinkers (or Porcelain Menders)—*Chiao Lu Hang* (Clever Stove Guild). 467* 445

The members of this organization are the traveling tinkers who carry along with them their implements, including a diamond-pointed gimlet made to revolve by the use of a twisted rope, and a little stove. These artisans, rightfully called "clever," mend articles made of porcelain, brass, iron, and certain other metals, usually by the use of metal brads. They are perhaps best known for their skill in joining together securely broken pieces of china, by both gluing the pieces together and fastening them firmly by brads melted into tiny holes which they have bored in the porcelain.

COMMERCIAL GUILDS

Clock Stores — *Chung Piao Hang Shang Hui* (The Clock Watch Commercial Guild Association). 441* 405

Buyers, sellers and repairers of clocks and watches. These artisans do not make clocks or watches, but have skilled workers in their stores to make repairs.

Cloth Stores — *Pu Hang Shang Hui* (Cloth Commercial Guild Association). 441*

Dealers primarily in cotton cloth. Silk, however, may be found in most cloth stores.

*441 Coal Stores—*Mei Pu Tung Yeh Kung Hui* (Coal Stores Like Occupation Public Society).

Buyers and sellers of hard or soft coal and makers of coal balls. These coal balls, used generally in Chinese stoves, are made from a combination of clay and coal dust.

Confectionery Stores—*Po Po Hang* (Cake Guild).

Sellers of Chinese cakes and other forms of native confectionery.

Dye Stuff Stores—*Ching Shih Yen Liao Hang Hui* (Metropolitan Dye [or Color] Material Guild Association).

These merchants sell both native and Chinese dye stuffs, paints and oils. They also sell the old-style Chinese ink which comes in blocks or tablets.

Fur Stores—*Pi Hang Sheng Hui* (Hide or Skins Commercial Guild Association).

Members of this guild are engaged in selling hides, skins or furs, generally bought in Mongolia. The guild itself does a certain amount of curing.

Hat Stores—*Mao Hang* (Hat Guild).

Both makers and sellers of old-style Chinese hats or skull caps, and of old-style official hats. These merchants in former times sold not only these hats but also the various styles of insignia used to designate different official ranks and placed on the top of the hat. A certain number of the old-style hats are still sold, but for the most part these guildsmen are now engaged primarily in the sale of foreign- or native-made felt or straw hats.

Leather Stores—*Wu Sheng Pi Hang* (Five Sages Hide or Skins Guild).

We have been unable to discover the reason for the term "Five Sages" in the name of this organization.

These guildsmen make and sell leather goods of mule, horse or cow hide, or sheep skin. 441*

Mutton Shops — *Ching Shih Yang Shang Tung Yeh Kung Hui* (Metropolitan Sheep Commercial Like Occupation Public Association). 441* 253

Members of this organization are the mutton merchants having their shops in many places in Peking. In each shop it is customary for the merchant to kill the sheep and prepare the mutton himself.

Oil Stores—*Yu Yeh Kung Li Hui* (Oil Occupation Commonly Established Society). 441*

The sellers of vegetable oils including sesami, peanut, linseed, castor bean, and cottonseed oils. For the most part these productions come from the country district to the east of Peking where the oils are prepared.

Pork Shops — *Ching Shih Chu Shih Pin Tung Yeh Kung Hui* (Metropolitan Pork Foodstuffs Like Occupation Public Association).

These merchants have four distinct groups in their guild carrying on four subdivisions of the pork trade: (1) those who have to do with the slaughter houses situated in the East City of Peking; (2) the sellers of the usual pork food products; (3) sellers of lard; (4) sellers of pig bristles.

Restaurants—*Fan Chuang Shang Hui* (Restaurant Commercial Association). [265]

Guild members are the managers of Chinese-style and foreign-style restaurants.

Rice and Flour Stores—*Mi Mien Hang Hui* (Rice and Flour Guild Association). [256]

For the most part these merchants are engaged entirely in the sale of rice and flour. In some stores, however, they also do a certain amount of their own grinding.

*441 Second-hand Clothes Stores—*Ching Shih Ku Yi Hang Hui* (Metropolitan Old Clothes Guild Association).

The sellers of old clothes. These merchants will also make alterations in the clothes, employing tailors to do the work. Occasionally they will make new suits for their customers.

Shoe Stores—*Ching Shih Hsueh Hsieh Hang* (Metropolitan Book and Shoe Guild).

The sellers of boots and shoes formerly entirely of Chinese style, now also of foreign style. Frequently these stores will also undertake to mend shoes. In this case they employ members of a special branch guild that specializes in repairing shoes.

Silk and Satin Stores — *Chou Tuan Hang Hui* (Silk and Satin Guild Association).

The sellers of silk and satin. In most of these stores, however, cotton goods can be purchased also.

Sweet Oil Stores — *Chih Ma Hang Shang Hui* (Sesame Commercial Guild Association).

The members of this guild were originally included in the Oil Stores Guild.[1] Because of a dispute a few years ago they branched off, forming their own association. They specialize in one of the many Chinese vegetable oils.

Vegetable Merchants—*Ching Tsai Hang* (Green or Fresh Vegetable Guild).

The office of the mayor in the metropolitan area (which includes eighteen counties surrounding Peking) sells a limited number of licenses which entitle their holders to be middlemen in the marketing of fresh vegetables brought in from the country to Peking. These middlemen have their headquarters in the market near the

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[1] *Cf.* p. 115.

Tien Chiao (Heaven Bridge) midway on the principal north-to-south thoroughfare in the Southern City. Both the peddlers of vegetables and the representatives of vegetable stores in Peking meet at this market. Those holding the licenses superintend all the weighing of the products and their sale and receive a commission for their services. Frequently the local store representative will buy on credit. In these cases the collecting of the bill is in the hands of these licensed middlemen, who ask a commission for this service also. Membership in this guild is confined entirely to the men having these licenses. 441*

PROFESSIONAL GUILDS

Actors—*Li Yuan Kung Yi Hui* (Pear Garden Public Welfare Association). 467* 536

This name has come down from the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618–905) from the time when the famous Emperor Ming Hwang (A. D. 847-860) of that Dynasty was the personal patron of the actors. The Pear Garden is the name of the theatre where they originally played. Members of this guild are the actors of the old-style Chinese plays. In recent years they have given not only the ancient plays but also those of a modern type which in general form correspond to the old-style dramas.

Barbers—*Cheng Jung Hang* (Beautify the Face Guild). 467* 305

Composed of the itinerant barbers of the old style who partially shaved the head and gave a haircut suitable to the wearer of the queues; and also of the modern, Western-style barbers that do their work in the ordinary barber shop.

Blind—*San Hwang Hui* (Three Kings Association). 467*

The Three Kings referred to are the symbolic impersonations of the three primary elements of the ancient

*467 Chinese universe, Heaven, Earth, and Man. The members of this guild are composed of blind singers and blind fortune-tellers.

Cooks—*Chu Hang* (Cooks Guild).

Composed of cooks who prepare food in Chinese style.

Kitchen Coolies—*Yu Tzo* (Oil or Oily Workers).

The title is evidently meant to reflect the usual greasy appearance of these cooks' assistants. There are two grades in this work: The first is composed of the more skilled workers who assist the cook in passing dishes from the stove to the waiters; the second group is generally known as *tiao pen,* or "unskilled (literally "stupid") carriers." The term carriers here means to carry on poles over the shoulders. The principal work of these coolies is to carry the provisions which the cook has bought at the store or market to the restaurant or hotel where the food is to be prepared.

Porters—*Kung Yi Chang Shan Cha Yeh Sheng Hui* (The Enduring Righteous Public Welfare Holy Tea Leaves Association).

The origin of this long and complicated name is explained in our detailed discussion of this guild.[1] The guild is composed of a group of porters who carry boxes, trunks, baggage, or other objects on the shoulders.

*467 538 Story Tellers—*Ping Shu Yen Chiu She* (Story Tellers Discussion and Study Association).

The professional story tellers who entertain in theaters, tea houses, markets or temple festivals are members of this guild.

*467 Waiters—*Cha Hang* (Tea Guild).

Waiters who serve Chinese-style food. Their duties are setting the table, serving guests and pouring tea.

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[1] *Cf.* p. 90.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE VI

LIST OF PEKING GUILDS AND NUMBER OF STORES OR SHOPS AND GUILD MEMBERS

	Number of Shops or Stores*			Number of Members†	
	1	2	3	4	5
Craft Guilds:					
1 Awning Makers					200
2 Bean Sauce Makers					
3 Block-cloth Pressers					
Bone and Horn					
4 Colored Bone					220
5 Toothbrush					330
6 Comb Makers					50
7 Shoe Horn					60
8 Spectacle Frames					145
9 Tongue Scrapers					120
10 Brass Musical Instruments					
11 Brick Carvers					
12 Candy Makers					
13 Carpenters					4,000
14 Carpenters using large saws					
15 Cloisonné Designers		130			1,000
16 Cloth Pasters					150
17 Confectionery Makers		30			300
18 Cotton Spinners and Weavers[a]	48				23
19 Dyers	36	36	33	810	
20 Dyeing (Silk)[b]				3,230	
21 File Makers					
22 Furniture Painters					
23 Handle Makers					
24 Horse Shoe Makers					
25 Gold and Silver Smelters	21		22		
26 Gold Foil Beaters				165	
27 Leather Box Makers					100
28 Masons					7,000
29 Mat Tent Makers		30			
30 Painters				1,400	1,600
31 Paper Hangers		200		9,018	
32 Shoe Fasteners					1,530

* Number of shops and stores according to (1) Chamber of Commerce list, 1925; (2) our list, 1926-7; (3) Chamber of Commerce list, 1927.

† Number of members according to (4) S. D. Gamble's list, 1919; (5) our list, 1926-7.

[a] Manufactured goods of modern style.

[b] Not clear whether this is given in the Dyers Guild of our study.

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TABLE VI—*Continued*

	Number of Shops or Stores			Number of Members	
	1	2	3	4	5
33 Shoe Sole Makers					
34 Silk Thread Makers		110			
35 Silver and Gold Refiners	21		22		
36 Smelters	43		40	175	
37 Table and Chair Makers		120			500
38 Tailors				21,300	9,000
39 Tinkers					380
40 Tinsmiths					
Commercial Guilds:					
1 Account Books (W)	15		13		
2 Bankers (R)	20		17		
3 Brick Kiln Owners	38				
4 Carriage, Automobile and Bicycle Dealers	116		110		
5 Cash Shops	59		52		
6 Charcoal Dealers	65		65		
7 Cigarette Dealers			154		
8 Clock Stores	91	100	99		
9 Cloth Stores	171	250	237		
10 Coal Stores	178	250	248	18,100	
11 Coal (W)	109		113	1,010	
12 Coal Oil & Imported Goods	35		30		
13 Condiments	216		228		
14 Confectionery Stores		60		900	
15 Cotton Stores	39		36		
16 Curio Stores	126		133		
17 Dried Fruit Stores	137		137		
18 Drugs	154		154	4,650	
19 Drug Stores (Foreign)	33		34		
20 Dye Stuff Stores	57	50	53		
21 Electrical Stores (R)	46	100	46		
22 Fertilizer (R)		300	300	5,000	
23 Fresh Fruit Stores	56		54		
24 Fresh Vegetables	41		71		
25 Fur Merchants	206	100	186	4,500	
26 Gold and Silver Work Stores	22		17		
27 Grain & Miscellaneous Goods Stores	27		30		
28 Grain (W)	55		75		

(W) Wholesale.

(R) Guilds reported on for this study but rejected in compiling results, *cf.* p. 56.

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TABLE VI—*Continued*

	Number of Shops or Stores			Number of Members	
	1	2	3	4	5
29 Hardware Stores	35		31		
30 Hat Stores		400		2,010	
31 Horse Dealers	33		40		
32 Hotel Keepers (R)	62	60	105		72
33 Ice Dealers	31		31		
34 Incense and Cosmetics	74		74	2,793	
35 Jade	128		117	1,230	
36 Jewelry Stores	90		83		
37 Leather Stores		45			
38 Lime Stores	209		203		
39 Lumber Sellers	69		67		
40 Mutton Shops		80	78	3,490	
41 Oil Stores	34	12	29		
42 Old Rice Stores					
43 Old Sheep-Skin Stores	79		63		
44 Pawnbrokers	87		88	1,670	
45 Pig and Sheep Intestine Shops			41		
46 Pig Dealers			44		
47 Pork Merchants	94	130	59	950	
48 Restaurants	143	240	237		
49 Rice & Flour Stores	284	400	377		
50 Rice Stores	66		67		
51 Second-hand Clothes Stores	185	170	138		
52 Shoe Stores	67	83	70	2,500	
53 Silk and Satin Stores	66	70	66		
54 Soap, Wholesale				238	
55 Soap, Retail				1,050	
56 Sweet Oil Stores		23			
57 Tea Stores	99		89		
58 Tobacco Stores	64		60		
59 Vegetable Merchants					
60 Wine Dealers (W)	7		7		
Professional Guilds:					
1 Actors					1,500
2 Barbers				3,470	3,000
3 Blind				1,000	
4 Cooks				6,300	200[*]
5 Kitchen Coolies					46
6 Porters					300
7 Story Tellers					300
8 Undertakers				1,800	
9 Waiters					300
10 Water Carriers				2,500	
11 Wheelbarrow Pushers					

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[*] The number of members in one district only—the South City district.

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SUMMARY

	Total	Our sample	Per cent
Craft Guilds	40	16	40
Commercial	60	18	30
Professional	11	8	73
	111	42	

CHAPTER V

GUILD MEMBERSHIP

A. Qualifications for Membership

The blanket qualification for membership is usually expressed in the following phrase: "Those of one trade may join the guild." 441* 467*

It is of course assumed by all guilds having the apprentice system that the candidate for membership must have finished his training either in the local guild or elsewhere. In certain cases, however, there were special qualifications—economic, moral, or pertaining to special training—which were emphasized. Only Cloisonné Designers who have "five workers or apprentices" in their shops may join the guild. "Those who finish apprenticeship properly and who thank the teacher" may join the Paper Hangers Guild; but there is added, "also those who come from outside, if they apply at the outset." One commercial guild makes this economic qualification for its members: "Stores that are engaged in the hat business, which have a sufficient amount of capital, are allowed to join the guild." The smaller sellers are excluded. The Mutton Guild has character qualification: "Honest and well-founded shops" may join. Presumably the latter phrase also has to do with the economic standing of the shop.

Among the professional guilds various qualifications are mentioned. The approval of the head of the guild must be secured before a kitchen coolie may join his organization. "The sons and brothers of guild members alone" are allowed

*441 to join the Porters association; the old apprenticeship sys-
*467 tem has been abolished.[1] The Actors Guild allows "actors, professional or amateur, who are introduced by their teachers" to become members. Character qualifications again are emphasized in the Blind Guild: "Blind fortune tellers and singers of good character and honest" may become members. Two types of membership are included in the Masons Guild, "the skilled tilers and the able-bodied laborers," or skilled and unskilled workers; only the former have to go through a period of apprenticeship.

B. Composition of Guild Membership

In the craft and trade guilds we find two general membership schemes. In the one case the managers and workmen all belong to the guild and, in theory at least, have a part in guild operations. In the other case the store manager alone represents the store as a unit. Most craft guilds are of the former type, while the commercial guilds are of the latter.

Twelve of the sixteen craft guilds consider both managers and journeymen as members of the guild. Only three of them are represented in the guild by the managers alone—the Dyers Guild, the Silk Thread Guild, and the Table and Chair Guild. The first two are clearly closely related to the stores that sell the dyes and the thread.

Only two of the commercial guilds consider journeymen as their members—the Vegetable Sellers, an informal group of vegetable brokers, and the Dye Guild. In the latter case, however, this significant phrase is added: "The workers may join but no fees are charged." It is a question what the term "join" in that case would signify. It is highly improbable that workmen who pay no fees would have any standing in the general discussions with the managers who are supporting the guild.

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[1] *Cf.* p. 84.

All professionals who have learned their professions are guild members. In the case of the porters alone a strict division appears to be made between the leaders and the common workmen. All, however, are guild members. 441* 467*

C. The Inclusiveness of Guild Membership

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Table VII records the replies of the guildsmen to the question of whether or not it was essential for a member of their respective crafts, trades or professions in the guild area to join the guild—whether membership was on their part " compulsory " or " optional." These terms, however, are decidedly ambiguous. The term " compulsory " may mean anything from being forced to join the guild to avoid physical injury to a recognition on the part of the worker of the practical necessity of doing so if he is to carry on his business. After the establishment of the Republic in Peking the police denied the right of the guilds to inflict corporal punishment.[1] Although guildsmen were restricted in the use of physical force, the weapons of the boycott and social ostracism still remain. In many cases it is not so much a question of " forcing " members to join as of the practical impossi-

Table VII

The Inclusiveness of Guild Membership

	Compulsory	Uncertain	Optional	Total
Craft	10	2	4	16
Commercial		1	17	18
Professional	4	1	3	8
Total	14	4	24	42

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

*441 bility of carrying on business without belonging to a guild.
*467 The statement that most of the craft guilds make member-
626 ship "compulsory" for all in their craft and that practically all the commercial guilds make it "optional" should not, then, be taken at its face value.

A more careful study of the replies shows varying degrees of compulsion. The carpenters report that unless one joins the guild a "permit" to do work cannot be given. If an offender is detected, he is fined, but it is indicated that guildsmen hesitate to report the independent shops for fear of giving offense! The masons similarly report that "those who do not join, if reported, are fined. Those in Peking always join for fear of unemployment." In the case of these two and of many other craft guilds there is this endeavor to make all workers join, although there are indications that they are sometimes unsuccessful.

For Silk Thread Makers it is essential that the heads of the shops join. A group of investigators is employed to make sure that there are no independent competitors. The workmen are in this case not members of the guild. The managers of the Coal Stores are likewise required to join their guild, but not the workmen.

The practical necessity of joining if one is to make ends meet is brought out clearly by several of our informants. The Leather Box Makers "who do not join the guild cannot make a living." For the workers in the Clock Stores joining the guild is "optional, but those who do not join cannot get the advantages of guild membership." We are told that membership in the Oil Stores Guild "is optional, *but all belong.*" The porters report that all join the guild in order that all may have "the privilege of working." On the other hand it is clear that in certain guilds the term "optional" has a literal meaning. Joining the Rice and Flour Guild is optional; "two-fifths of all the stores are

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members." "Ninety per cent" of the professional story tellers belong to the guild.

D. Area of the Guilds' Operations

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The reported purely local character of Chinese guilds is verified by our study, as is shown in Table VIII. Williams had already pointed this out, as follows:

> The craft guilds are local only. They are limited to one craft in one town. The carpenters' guild of Soochow has nothing to do with the carpenters' guild of Shanghai. There is no provincial union of carpenters, much less any approach to a national guild of carpenters. A similar condition exists in other trades.[1]

He also tells us that most of the merchant guilds are like the craft guilds, of a purely local character.[2]

Table VIII

Area of Guilds' Operations

	Craft	Commercial	Professional
A section of Peking	2	1	3
Peking city only	8	14	5
Peking and Hai Tien	4		
Peking, Hai Tien Ching Lung Chiao	1	3	
Peking and surrounding towns—radius of 20 miles	1		
Total	16	18	8

Of the forty-two guilds studied, thirty-three confine their memberships to residents either in the city of Peking or in

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[1] Williams, *China: Yesterday and Today*, p. 189.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

*441 a defined section of the Chinese city. Four additional craft *467 guilds include in their membership residents of the Manchu barracks town, Hai Tien, five miles northwest of Peking which was a trading center near the Imperial Guard headquarters, and four more guilds include also another small town just beyond the Emperor's Summer Palace and situated some ten miles northwest of the city. Only one guild, the Tinkers, includes workers in a larger area. Four towns, each twenty or thirty miles from Peking, in different directions, are given as included in this guild's monopoly district.

The Mat Tent Builders include workers in the Southern City. The Table and Chair Guild covers five separate sections of the city. The Pork Shop Merchants are concentrated around the two markets of the East City. Four definite sections of Peking are mentioned as the places from which the members of the Kitchen Coolies Guild are drawn. It is noted that if one of this guild wishes to work in the northern part of the Manchu City, he may do so "if properly introduced," presumably to another organization operating there. The very definite limitations of the porters' operations are described above.[1] Two sections in the East City and one in the West City, each in the vicinity of one of the large gates of the capital, are covered by the Waiters Guild.

In one craft guild, the Cloth Pasters, guild membership formerly included both the city of Tungchow, fifteen miles east of Peking, and the port city of Tientsin, seventy-five miles to the east; but "now membership is restricted to Peking."

Membership in all these guilds, except in three cases, is not transferable when a guild member moves to another city. The cloth pasters, because of their former connection in Tungchow and Tientsin, are allowed to transfer their memberships to guilds in those cities. An actor going from one city to another may identify himself with the local guild. Our report also says that membership in the Dye Stuff Guild is transferable to guilds in other cities.

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[1] *Cf.* p. 81.

Our study of the Tea, Paper and Cloth Guilds of Foochow, and the Flour and Satin Guilds of Nanking, yields the same evidence of the purely local character of Chinese guilds of these types. In each of these four cases the guild membership is confined to residents of the respective cities.

In only one of the forty-two guilds studied is there any evidence that membership is restricted to blood kindred—the Porters Guild. There is every indication that this is a recently imposed limitation to membership.[1] The Dye Stuff Guild was originally composed entirely of men from Shansi Province. "The majority were from Ping Yao Hsien; the minority from Chieh Hsin Hsien and Hsin Yi Hsien." There is at present no such limitation. Williams says that in certain guilds he has studied members from one province control. He mentions the fact, also said to be true in Peking, that the bankers and owners of the smaller exchange shops are all from Shansi Province.

E. Duties of Guild Members

According to the guildsmen, the duties of guild membership are very simple. In practically every case the sole reply to our question was, " to pay the fees and abide by the rules of the guild." In only a few cases is there any indication that the ordinary guild member feels himself responsible for anything further. True to the traditional deference for those in authority, the ordinary member has merely to obey and leave the responsibilities to the elders who have been placed in control.

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[1] *Cf.* p. 84.

*441 In a few cases, however, the guildsmen seem to feel a *467 responsibility for hounding down the "scab." The members of the Paper Hangers Guild are supposed "to report on non-members carrying on this craft." The Silk Thread Makers naively report that the duty of members is "to watch one another against unlawful practice." In only one case is there any indication that the rank and file feel any responsibility for the general management of the guild. The Shoe Fasteners Guild members are supposed "to help the elders carry on the work of the guild."

F. PRIVILEGES OF MEMBERSHIP

Our guildsmen were much more voluble in reporting what they considered to be the benefits of guild membership than in pointing out the obligations. The chief emphasis was on the great economic advantages accruing to members of the guild. The Carpenters, Masons, Porcelain Menders, and other crafts are benefited because they are enabled to receive "the standard wage." To the kitchen coolie, joining the guild means help in getting work when one is out of a job. The possibility of getting help when one is in trouble with the officials or in financial straits is emphasized by the members of the commercial guilds. The Leather Box Makers report that if any member gets into trouble he is helped by the guild. The Restaurant Keepers, the Second-Hand Clothing Stores and the Shoe Sole Makers give a similar reply. The Fur Stores expressly mention the protection which comes to them from joining the guild because of the influence of the Chamber of Commerce.

Another privilege that is valued highly by the guildsmen is "the right to vote and to be elected an official" in the guild. Five commercial guilds, one craft guild, and one professional guild mention this privilege.

A very precious privilege of guild membership is the as-

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surance of proper burial, no matter what may happen to one's personal finances. The Carpenters, the Cloisonné Designers, the Masons, the Painters, the Porcelain Menders, the Tailors and the Barbers mention this privilege. The merchants, who are economically better off, do not mention it.

The rights of participation in guild affairs, such as "inspecting the affairs of the guild" (the Carpenters), "managing and watching over the business of the guild" (the Masons) and "overseeing the guild affairs" (the Painters) are pointed out. It will be noted that these three organizations are the three units of the builders trade that for a time composed the Lu Pan Industrial Union. It seems evident from this report that with the new life and interest which have come to these trades in their adaptation to new conditions has come also more of the spirit of mutual cooperation.[1]

The possibility of being helped when in severe trouble is emphasized by the barbers and by the blind. "If a barber from the country comes to the guild for help, they will endeavor to find him a job and will give him a temporary place to sleep and eat." In the Blind Guild help is given "to our members who have received unjust injury inflicted by others."

The guilds, then, are considered primarily of benefit to the members because of the economic security which they afford. They also give help in time of trouble and, in the case of craft guilds, assure that requisite of respect for every Chinese, a proper burial. The privilege of participation in the control of the guild is stressed only by three members of the building trades.

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[1] *Cf.* p. 102.

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G. EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION IN GUILD AFFAIRS

In the commercial guilds it is the managers of the stores that represent their store units in all public guild deliberations. There is no such arrangement in the craft guilds. In theory, at least, journeymen as well as shop heads can take part in public discussion at the guild meetings and influence guild policy. Generally the shop heads play the principal part in the management of guild affairs, but sometimes a master who is not a shop head but who has had many pupils that have become active in the craft, gains a considerable leadership in the group.

CHAPTER VI

GUILD ORGANIZATIONS

A. Officers and Directors

The organization of the Peking guilds varies greatly in form. There are the guilds with practically no formal organization and controlled for the most part by an informal meeting of the older heads of a few shops. The majority of the guilds, however, are controlled by boards of directors, standing committees, or other designated groups of a fixed number. In a few cases it is specifically stated that there is "no board of directors." The executive matters are handled by the president of the guild or by the president and the vice-president. Several of the professional guilds have a most complicated and detailed organization with long lists of officers, finely differentiating the various executive duties.

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We are told that eight elderly persons form a group which controls the Mat Tent Builders Guild. Our investigator adds, "As these people are not intelligent, they have no idea of the regular election of officers." In this case the control of the guild is very much like the control of the ordinary Chinese village. The elders and more respected family heads form the council of the village head men. In the guild the elderly and more important shop heads unite to control affairs. To ask in either case how these persons are elected is interjecting a Western conception of a technical process into a situation where no such process is understood. The status of the elders, determined by generally accepted

*4-41 standards, automatically brings them into leadership. The *467 Painters and Second-hand Clothes Stores have a similar informal organization, while the Vegetable Sellers report that they have a head but no other officers.

The usual organization, however, has some sort of group designated as "the elders," "the group of officers," "the board of directors," or "the yearly committee." Ten craft guilds, eleven commercial guilds and two professional guilds report such groups in charge of the guild, while two craft guilds and four commercial guilds definitely report that they have no committee in charge and are controlled merely by one or more elected head men. These committees vary greatly in size. The Carpenters' yearly committee numbers twenty; the Cloth Pasters are controlled by sixteen elders; the Cloisonné Designers have a council of ten; the Shoe Stores have eight directors; the Mutton Shops are controlled by ten directors.

In studying the replies to the question, "Who are the officers of the guild?" it is interesting to note that the emphasis among the craft guilds was almost entirely on these groups or committees. Only in one case was the fact that there was a chairman of the group specifically mentioned. One would infer from the replies that the workers' conception of control is primarily that of the authority of the representative group rather than of the individual head man or executive. Although it is probable that in most of these cases there is a regular chairman or head, his executive authority is not emphasized.

In several cases there is more than one head. The Tailors report three heads; the Table and Chair Makers report four heads; the Story Tellers Guild is in charge of an executive committee of four, whereas the Waiters Guild reports thirty heads. In the commercial guilds a definite organization of officers in addition to the committees of control is specifically mentioned in ten cases, in most of which merely a president and a vice-president are mentioned. The Coal Stores Guild reports that it is under the control of "two executive heads, four directors, and ten councilmen." 441 * 467 *

In several of the guilds there are paid secretaries (craft, 3; commercial, 7) and in two, the Silk Thread Makers and the Pork Shop Guilds, there are paid investigators whose duty it is to find out whether there are persons of their trades doing business in the Peking area who are not members of the guild; also, presumably whether the guild members are living up to the rules.

The guilds that have the most elaborate organization are three from the professional group, the Actors, the Blind, and the Barbers. The Actors report that "there are three heads, two officials in charge of the current year, two officers of the month, four treasurers, four who take charge of general affairs, four directors." These are honorary positions. There is, in addition, "an accountant whose salary is $12 a month, and a servant who looks after the guild whose salary is $8 a month." We are told that ordinarily affairs are not handled by the heads or directors, who no doubt are famous actors whose names look well on the guild list of officers. The actual work is carried out by the two officials in charge for the year and the special official who is in charge for the month, in cooperation with the treasurer. Matters of major importance are discussed at meetings of the whole staff. The Barbers report a minute divison of responsibility. There is the "annual head of the guild," the "monthly head," and the "daily head." "The annual head is the chief director. The monthly head manages the monthly affairs. and the daily head, one day's affairs. If the daily head does not finish his day's work, what is left undone is taken charge of by the head for the next day. In similar manner business may be carried over from one month to the next. If

*441 *467 the monthly head has matters of great importance which he cannot transact, he refers them to the annual head. There are more than 100 heads."

TERM OF OFFICE

The term of office of directors and other officials varies from one year to a life term. Among the craft guilds the favorite length of office is one year. Ten craft guilds, two commercial guilds and one professional guild report this term. Evidently eleven commercial guilds report a two-year term. Among a good many of the guilds, however, the term, as in the case of the elders in a village, is indefinite or " for life," or as long as the leadership is satisfactory to the guild. Two craft, one commercial and three professional guilds report that their head men and officers hold their positions for life, while five craft guilds, one commercial and one professional give replies indicating an indefinite tenure of office.

It is evident that the commercial guilds generally tend to have greater definiteness with regard to official tenure and a more clear-cut organization than the craft and professional guilds.

METHOD OF ELECTION TO OFFICE

The priest, Mr. Chiao, to whom we have frequently referred as a source of information, described the methods of election in the Carpenters Guild. He said that each year there was no definite choosing of the head by ballot, but an extremely elderly and respected guildsman was chosen by unanimous consent. There was no machinery of election, and as there was always general agreement on who the head should be, no discussion was necessary.

The replies to our inquiry as to the methods of election are few and indefinite. The Cloth Dealers tell us that "public opinion elects." In some cases it is reported that "men of standing" are elected, while a few cases also say that election is "by ballot." Probably this newer form of voting is an innovation of recent years. Mr. H. C. Chang, our investigator, reports that usually the head men or directors are shop or store heads, but not always. Frequently a foreman who has trained a great number of pupils in the craft or trade has very high standing and may be elected either as head of the guild or as one of the permanent officials. The customary respect for the teacher carries weight, as well as the usual regard for standing and age as exemplified in the heads of the shops or stores.

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METHODS OF ROTATION IN OFFICE

Several of the guilds (craft, 5; commercial, 7; professional, 2) have a system of rotating committees or boards that control the affairs of the guild. This is particularly true in the larger groups such as the Carpenters, where different districts in rotation supply the committee in charge for the year.[1] The Masons and the Blind Guilds have a similar system. In another group this principle is applied by the month, the different members of the executive committee or board taking charge during different months. The Restaurants Guild has an executive committee of fifteen; two members are in charge in rotation each month. In the Silk and Satin Stores Guild the directors are divided into groups of a few each who take charge during periods of six months. As the work of the officers and the committeemen is purely voluntary, this scheme serves to lighten the burden on any one person or group of persons.

THE DUTIES OF THE OFFICERS

In only a few cases are the specific duties of the different officers defined. Our informants evidently thought of the

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[1] *Cf.* p. 94.

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officers of the guild collectively and tabulated their official functions in the order in which they occurred to them. Most prominent in the replies, of course, is the general statement of "managing the affairs of the guild." When we get beneath this blanket statement, we find that the duties mentioned may be classed roughly as follows: (a) preparing for the special meetings of worship, including temple arrangements; (b) calling special committee meetings or yearly business meetings when held at other times than the meeting of worship; (c) supervising the financial affairs of the guild, which includes proposing rates for the yearly dues, collecting the dues and fines, keeping an eye on the accounts and making a financial statement of the guild's expenditures; (d) making proposals to the guild regarding important matters, such as increasing the wages or a change in the constitution; (e) the punishing of offenders, including the imposing of fines, the detection of rule breakers and expulsion from the guild; (f) maintaining relations with outside bodies, such as the Chamber of Commerce, when the guild belongs to it, and representing the guild in dealings with the government.

782 The responsibility of the elders or officers for the meeting of worship is emphasized in the replies from craft guilds. Ten guilds emphasized this priestly function. The duty of the officers is "to prepare the day of worship and the play;" in the Masons Guild, it is "to prepare the sacrifices," in the Leather Box Makers Guild, "to manage the guild's worship." Among the commercial guilds there is less emphasis on this function.

627 There is a similar contrast in the emphasis on the punishment of offenders. Seven craft guilds note that officers' activities include such things as "to punish offenders" (Awning Makers), "try to find the law breakers" (the Carpenters), and "to inflict punishment on offending members"

(the Shoe Fasteners). There is a similar emphasis in three of the professional guilds. This particular function, however, is not mentioned at all among the commercial guilds. It seems probable that the explanation of this lack of emphasis on guild discipline is that the commercial guilds are practically all members of the Chamber of Commerce, which means that they are registered with the police and are to that extent under governmental control and are restricted from inflicting punishment on their members. 627

In some of the commercial guilds there is a sharp distinction between the duties of the executives and those of the board of directors or guild council, the former being responsible particularly for the outside relations of the guild, especially with the Chamber of Commerce, while the directors determine the internal affairs of the guild. The Dye Stuff Stores report that the function of the president is "to have charge of relations with outside agencies. The elders have charge of internal affairs." The Coal Stores report that "there are two executive heads who have charge of all relations with the Chamber of Commerce. The board of directors (composed of four men) recommends action to them." The representatives of the Restaurants Guild tell us that the most important duties of their two executive officers are representing the guild in the Chamber of Commerce and dealing with the question of taxation by the police. It is evident from this report, and from many other sources, that the relatively newly-organized Chamber of Commerce is becoming more and more important. In many important matters the Board of Police deals with the Chamber, and the Chamber in turn deals with the guilds through their official representatives. 441* 467*

The Leather Stores emphasize the "investigating of the violation of rules," whereas the Porters are especially interested in the elders' function of mediating between mem-

*441 *467 bers who have a dispute to settle. The Cooks specifically mention that the officers have the power to "expel the offender."

B. QUALIFICATIONS REQUISITE FOR GUILD OFFICERS

*441 *467 554 The most important qualification for guild leadership, as reported by guild representatives, is general "capacity or ability." Twenty-one guilds give this as a primary qualification. The next in importance is "age and virtue or uprightness of character." Table IX shows that the qualifications of age and character are emphasized especially among the professional and craft guilds, whereas in the commercial groups there is special interest in the economic standing and income of the officers. Since in the latter class there is relatively more money invested and more at stake financially in the guilds' operations, and also since these guilds are registered both in the Chamber of Commerce and in the Board of Police and are subject to more systematic taxation, it is natural that there should be greater interest in the economic factors.

The following replies will bring out the contrast between these groups. Qualifications for officers are thus described by certain of the craft guilds: "The aged and virtuous are usually elected" (Carpenters); "those of good reputation, of upright character and executive ability" (Cloisonné Designers); "the aged and impartial, but sometimes the bad element" (Tinkers). Contrasted with these replies is that of the Table and Chair Guild: "stores having good business and able managers." Qualifications mentioned by some of the professional guilds were: "The experienced, honest and aged, and the famous actors" (Actors); "the just and able" (Barbers); "members more advanced in years" (Waiters); "the capable and impartial" (Porters).

Contrasted with these replies are some from commercial

organizations: from the Coal Shops, "the managers of 441 *
shops that have a capital of over $5,000"; from the Rice 467 *
and Flour Guild, "managers of stores that are old and of
sound standing are elected"; from the Silk and Satin Stores, 554
"heads of stores which have the largest amount of capital and the most famous members." The Sweet Oil Stores report that their officers are "men with large capacity and capable store heads."

The Clock Stores Guild formerly was composed entirely of Roman Catholic parishioners. The French Fathers years before had trained a certain number of their parishioners in the art of mending clocks. Inasmuch as many non-Catholics have joined the guild, there is no religious qualification either for membership or for the holding of office. The only organization that limits its officers in the matter of birth is the Porters Guild in which only the sons of former head men or other officers may be candidates for office.

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TABLE IX

QUALITIES FOR LEADERSHIP INDICATED BY REPLIES TO QUESTION, "WHAT TYPE OF MEN ARE ELECTED TO OFFICE?"

(The asterisk indicates type elected)

	Age	Economic standing	Moral character	Capability	Fame
Craft Guilds:					
Awning Makers		●		●	
Bakers				●	
Carpenters	●		●		
Cloth Pasters			●	●	
Cloisonné Designers			●	●	●
Painters	●	●			
Paper Hangers				●	
Shoe Fasteners				●	●
Table and Chair		●		●	
Tailors	●			●	
Tinkers	●		●		
	4	3	4	8	2
Commercial Guilds:					
Coal Stores	●				
Confectionery Stores	●	●	●	●	
Dye Stuff Stores	●				
Fur Merchants		●		●	
Hat Stores				●	
Mutton Shops				●	●
Oil Stores				●	
Pork Shops		●			
Restaurants		●		●	
Rice Stores		●			●
Second-hand Clothes Stores		●			
Silk and Satin Stores		●			●
Sweet Oil Stores		●		●	
	3	8	1	7	3
Professional Guilds:					
Actors	●		●	●	●
Barbers			●	●	
Blind			●	●	
Cooks	●		●	●	
Kitchen Coolies				●	
Porters			●	●	
Waiters	●				
	3	0	5	6	1
Total	10	11	10	21	6

CHAPTER VII

GUILD MEETINGS

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THERE are many forms of guild meetings. There are small informal meetings of officers, general meetings of a purely secular nature, general religious meetings where no guild business is transacted and general meetings of both a religious and a secular nature. In most of the guilds, however, the meeting of greatest importance is the annual gathering of the guildsmen, which is a combination of a religious meeting and a general discussion of the business of the guild. Generally, also, there are preparatory meetings of the officers, directors, or elders, and occasionally special meetings to discuss business affairs.

A. THE NUMBER OF MEETINGS

There are exceptions to the rule of one yearly general meeting. The Porters have two annual meetings in connection with their religious ceremonies.[1] The Silk Thread Stores have three regular meetings a year; the Tailors, four; the Shoe Stores, six; while the Coal and Dye Stuff Stores have regular monthly meetings. The Silk and Satin Stores meet twice a month regularly, whereas the Second-hand Clothes Stores report that their cabinet meets once or twice every month. Some guilds mention, in addition to these regular guild meetings, fixed meetings for officers or committee men. The Mutton and Pork Shops report that there is one regular meeting for the members, six meetings a year

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[1] *Cf.* p. 88.

*444 *467 for the board of directors, and a monthly meeting for the executive committee.

Most of the guilds, however, report that these officers' meetings are held irregularly, as occasion arises, and previous to the general meeting for which they make preparations.

The Mat Tent Builders, the Oil Stores and Sweet Oil Stores and the Vegetable Sellers have no fixed time for meeting. They come together at the summons of their officers only when there is business to be attended to.

ATTENDANCE AT THE GENERAL MEETINGS

There is a marked contrast between the persons who attend the handcraft and professional meetings and those who attend the commercial meetings. In the former groups the practically unanimous reply is " all members," which would include managers and workers. At the yearly play the apprentices are allowed to be present and enjoy the fun, although they take no part in the discussion of guild affairs. In the case of the commercial guilds the attendance is usually limited to " the managers."

In most guilds attendance at the anual meeting is compulsory. There is, however, a great variety of rule and practice in this regard. The Awning Makers report that attendance is compulsory at meetings of " great urgency only." The Confectionery Makers report that " by rule it is required that persons attend, but some are absent." The Cloth Stores report that according to the rules " all should be present but some do not attend." Several other guilds made similar reports. In other cases, such as the Carpenters, Masons and Painters, it is not necessary for a person to attend the meeting, but it is required that all members pay their dues on that day. In still other cases there are very strict fines in case of absence. The Silk Thread Makers impose a fine of $20 on an absent member.

PROCEDURE AND PLACE OF MEETINGS

As the annual meeting is usually a combination of religious service and business deliberation, a detailed description will be found in the chapter on the religious life of the guilds.[1] 441 * 467 *

The annual meetings are generally held in the guild hall or guild temple, or in a borrowed temple, but sometimes they are held in restaurants. The smaller committee meetings are usually held in tea houses, but sometimes in temples or guild halls.[2]

WHAT IS ACCOMPLISHED IN THE GENERAL MEETINGS

In the reports from the craft guilds, the guildsmen, in describing what takes place at these meetings other than the religious ceremonies, emphasize the fact that " wages are raised " at that time.

The principal subjects covered in the general discussions include the changing of the constitution of the guild, changes in wages or prices, controversies with officials, questions of relationships with other guilds, the distributing of the charitable funds of the guilds,[3] reports by the officers on income and expenditures, governmental taxation, relations with the Chamber of Commerce, announcements of fines and punishment of offending guildsmen, and the selection of elders or officers.

At the annual meeting of the Porters Guild, in addition to discussion of these general business matters, a lecture is given on " duty and conduct." The Shoe Stores report that among the subjects discussed at guild meetings is that of developing the business. In the Shoe Fasteners' report was included a subject very naturally discussed during the last

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 181-182.

[2] *Cf.* p. 181.

[3] *Cf.* p. 173.

*441 *467 few years when the prices of food and clothing have gone up so rapidly — " the standard of living of the workmen."

That in some cases the annual meeting practically resolves itself into a court for trial and punishment of offenders is vividly brought out in Gamble's description of the annual meeting of the Blind Guild.[1]

*441 *467 465 The foregoing summary of replies does not bring out an important contrast between the replies of the craft and professional guilds and those of the commercial guilds. In the replies of the craft and professional guilds there is great stress on the general discussion of wages, but there is no mention of wages in the replies of the commercial guilds, which place their emphasis on the improvement of the trade and their relations with the Chamber of Commerce and other organizations. It seems probable that the usual practice among the commercial guilds is to leave the matter of wages to the individual employer, while prices are settled largely at informal gatherings of the officers, elders, or committee men, rather than at the annual meetings. The Hat Stores report that " the guild heads can do things without the matter having to be passed by the majority." The Mutton Shops report that " except to amend the rules or expel the members all the business is accomplished by occasional meetings of the officers."

The annual meetings of the craftsmen and the professionals resemble a general free-for-all discussion of the question of prices and wages, whereas in the commercial organizations, shop owners and managers, or committees or groups of elders or boards of directors, seem to decide on the policies and programs of the guilds. Frequently practical working agreements as to prices or matters of guild policy are reached in very informal meetings of the leading store heads at restaurants or tea houses.

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 102-106.

CHAPTER VIII

GUILD FINANCES

A. Sources of Guild Income

Membership fees, paid either by individuals or by 441*
stores, are the principal source of income of the guilds 467*
studied in Peking. Additional income is derived from prop- 434
erty or investments, fines and assessments. Table X[1] shows that thirty-eight of the forty-two guilds report income from regular dues. Ten guilds report receiving money [454
either from rent or from land, or from invested funds. 427]
Guilds that receive rent either from the temples they own or from their guild headquarters, are the Carpenters, Leather Box Makers, Shoe Fasteners, Barbers, Restaurants, Silk and Satin Stores, Shoe Stores, and Porters. The Tailors possess 70 mu or 23 acres of land which they rent for a burial ground, while the Fur Stores receive ten per cent interest on the investment of a thousand taels which yields them 100 taels ($138.89) a year.

Our data regarding which guilds receive money from fines are extremely meager. The guildsmen simply reported the total yearly income of their organizations without specifying the sources from which the income was derived. In most guilds fines are, however, a minor factor in the total income.

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 148-149.

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TABLE X

SOURCES OF INCOME AND ESTIMATED TOTAL YEARLY INCOME OF GUILDS

(* denotes source of income)

	Fees	Sources Property and investments	Fines	Assessments	Other sources	Grand total (yearly)
Craft Guilds:						
Awning Makers	*		*		*	22,000 coppers ($63.79)
Confectionery Makers						8,000 coppers ($23.19)
Carpenters	*	*				300,000 coppers ($869.56) average 200,000 ($579.71)
Cloth Pasters	* $200					$200
Cloisonné Designers	*		*			$480
Dyers				*		
Leather Box Makers	*	* 200 taels ($277.78)		*	*	
Masons	*		* (seldom)			250,000 coppers ($727.56)
Mat Tent Builders	*					
Paper Hangers	*				*	$200
Painters	*		*			$500
Tinkers	*		*			10,000 coppers ($28.98)
Shoe Fasteners	*	*				45,000 coppers ($130.43)
Silk Thread Makers	* $300					$350
Tailors	*	*				
Table and Chair	*					20,000 coppers ($57.97)
Total	14	4	5	2	3	
Commercial Guilds:						
Clock Stores	* $700					$700
Cloth Stores	*					$800
Coal Stores	*					$800
Confectionery Stores	*					$305
Dye Stuff	*					($486.12) 350 taels of which 140 goes to C. of C.
Fur Stores	* $160	* 100 tls. ($138.89)				$300

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TABLE X—*Continued*

	Fees	Sources				Grand total (yearly)
		Property and investments	Fines	Assessments	Other sources	
Commercial Guilds: *Continued*						
Hat Stores	•					300 taels ($416.67)
Leather Stores	•					$1,000
Mutton Shops	•				• Tax on sheep	$300
Oil Stores	• This yr. pay fees				• Tax on oil	$15,000 of which $8,000 goes to C. of C.
Pork Merchants	•				• Tax on pigs	$1,000 of which $150 goes to C. of C.
Rice and Flour	•					$1,300
Restaurants	•	•				$2,000
Second-Hand Clothes	•					$100
Shoe Stores	•	• $35 a mo.				$780
Silk and Satin Stores	•	•			•	
Sweet Oil Stores					• Tax on oil	$3,000
Total	16	4			5	
Professional Guilds:						
Actors					Voluntary plays	$5,000
Barbers	•	• $50	• $100			$600
Blind	•			•		$100
Cooks	•					20,000 coppers ($57.97)
Kitchen Coolies	•					
Porters	•	• $70				40,000 coppers ($115.94)
Story Tellers	•		•			$100
Waiters	•					60,000 coppers ($173.91)
Total	7	2	1			

*441 *467 434 Certain of the guilds depend entirely upon general assessments for expenses. The Dyers, for example, report " there are no guild fees, but when money is needed for any particular use, all the stores have a share." In the Blind Guild it appears that the officers are responsible for making up from their own pockets any deficit in the expenses of the annual meeting. If, however, there is a surplus they also have the privilege of dividing it among themselves.

The Awning Makers have a special method for collecting money for their annual meeting: " Two coppers are contributed by every shop worker beginning with the tenth day of the sixth month. This money is deposited in a small bank made of pottery which is supplied to each shop. The money is collected each month, the banks broken open and the money turned over to the guild treasurer. New banks are put in each shop as soon as the old ones are taken away."

*441 *467 651 434 The Oil Stores and the Sweet Oil Stores receive their income from a proportion of the general government tax collected on the sale of oil. The tax is thirty cents on each 100 catties of oil sold. This money is collected by the guild collector once a week. The total receipts from this tax during the year of 1925 were $15,000. Twenty per cent of this amount, or $3,000, was kept for guild expenses; the rest was turned over to the government through the Chamber of Commerce. The Sweet Oil Stores report that their tax on each 100 catties of oil is fifteen cents, and that they also keep twenty per cent of this amount for guild expenses. The total receipts of the guild on this basis for 1925 were $3,000.

B. AMOUNT OF GUILD FEES

*441 *467 434 The guild fees may be roughly classified as fees paid by stores, fees paid by individuals (whether managers, workers or apprentices) and initiation fees. In commercial guilds membership is by store units. The stores pay the fees, ✓ usually according to the value of their trade. In the craft

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and professional guilds fees are usually paid by the members, whether managers, foremen or workmen. In only one case (the Leather Box Makers) can we find any record of a fixed charge to apprentices. Twelve guilds specify that regular initiation fees are charged. Table XI [1] gives the information that we were able to collect on the various fees paid. Leaving out of account the Oil Stores that pay a definite tax, the highest rate paid at present in any guild by store units is a charge per year of $20 paid by the larger Coal Shops.

Among the craftsmen there are various methods of paying. The Awning Makers and the Mat Tent Builders pay two coppers a day during a certain season of the year. The Paper Hangers give one day's wages. The Cooks pay ten cents a month. The Kitchen Coolies, when they have work, give twenty coppers a month, and two coppers a day when they are on a short-time job. The Actors pay $2 or $3 a month.

Initiation fees reported vary from $20 per store, with $8 more to the Chamber of Commerce for the Sweet Oil Stores, to individual payments of sixty coppers ($.17) by the Cloth Pasters. In most guilds it is the custom to consider the first annual fee as an intiation fee and to make no additional assessment.

C. METHODS OF COLLECTING FEES

All dues and fines are usually paid at the annual meeting. Some guilds, however (for example, the Coal and Confectionery Makers), have paid agents who go around to collect the money. The Oil Stores and the Sweet Oil Stores have special agents who call weekly to collect the taxes, while the Porters have special cash boxes in certain stores in which they deposit a percentage of their earnings after each job is finished.

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 152-154.

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TABLE XI

AMOUNT OF GUILD FEES

(Yearly, unless otherwise stated)

	By store	By manager (same as worker unless otherwise designated)	By worker	By apprentice	Initiation fee
Craft Guilds:					
Awning Makers......		2 coppers a day ($.01)			$5
Confectionery Makers.		80 coppers ($.23) (officers 40) ($.12)	20 coppers ($.06)		
Carpenters		Officers 140 coppers Workers 70 coppers ($.20)			
Cloth Pasters		2 cash on every board used ($.0006)			60 coppers ($.17)
Cloisonné Designers...		$1.00	$1.00		
Dyers	Contribution when needed				
Leather Box Makers..	.03 Taels ($.04)		.03 Taels ($.04)	.015 Tls. ($.02)	1 Tael ($1.39)
Masons		One day's wage 75c. or 45c.			
Mat Tent Builders....		2 cents a day			
Paper Hangers		One day's wage			
Painters	$1.00	$.50	$.50		$1.50
Tinkers		40 coppers ($.12)	40 coppers ($.12)		250 cop. (.73)
Shoe Fasteners		"Dues only when plays held. None in recent years"			
Silk Thread Makers ..	$1 on every cattie of silk thread sold				$20
Tailors...............	$1.00		40 coppers or 60 coppers ($.17)		
Commercial Guilds:					
Clock Stores.........	According to business conditions				$2.00

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TABLE XI—*Continued*

	By store	By manager (same as worker unless otherwise designated)	By worker	By apprentice	Initiation fee
Commercial Guilds: *Continued*					
Cloth Stores	$4 to $5				
Coal Stores	$5 to 5.20				
Confectionery Stores	$4, $5 and $7				
Dye Stuff Stores	.30 Tls on every basket of painting oil bought[a] ($.42)				30 Taels ($41.68)
Fur Stores	$7, $8, $9	$3			
Hat Stores	1 Tael or .80 Taels ($1.10)				
Leather Box Makers	6,000 coppers 300 coppers 150 coppers ($17.39) .87) .43) According to location and size of store				$8 for stores
Mutton Shops	$3 to $5				
Oil Stores	30c. tax on every 100 catties oil. 20% to guild; 80% to C. of C.				
Pork Shops	$2, $3, $5				
Rice and Flour	$2 to $7				
Restaurants	$8 to $12				
Second-Hand Clothes Stores	$1 to $10				
Shoe Stores	$2 on every $1,000 worth of goods sold				
Silk & Satin Stores	$10 to $12				$1.60 for certificate C. of C.

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[a] The Dye Stuff Stores charge a high initiation fee of 30 taels ($41.68) for a new store. It provides the store with a new set of balances and collects .30 taels ($.42) on every basket of painting oil bought.

4. Burgess E-4/5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XI—*Continued*

	By store	By manager (same as worker unless otherwise designated)	By worker	By apprentice	Initiation fee
Commercial Guilds: *Continued*					
Sweet Oil Stores	.15 charge on every 100 catties of oil sold; 20% to guild; 80% tax				$80 formerly, now $20 and $8 to C. C.
Vegetable Stores					
Professional Guilds:					
Actors		$2 to $3 a month ($.30)			
Barbers					
Blind		20 coppers per month ($.06)			$.40
Cooks		10 coppers per month ($.03)			
Kitchen Coolies......		Steady job 20 coppers a month ($.06) Short-time job 2 coppers a day ($.01)			$4
Porters		1 out of every 50 coppers made ($.003))			
Story Tellers		20 coppers per month ($.06)			
Waiters..............					

CHAPTER IX

THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM

*441 *467 871 Apprenticeship is the usual road to guild membership. Usually it is impossible to become a member without the training prescribed by the guilds. Students of one of the government schools in Peking who had been thoroughly trained in machine-shop work and had applied for positions in one of the local shops were rebuffed with these words: "You can't work on this job. You have never served an apprenticeship, and it is only after you have been a servant for three years that you can begin to learn something."[1]

A. Extent of Apprenticeship in Peking

This feature of the guilds, described by Morse, Williams, Macgowan and other writers on Chinese guilds as the apprenticeship system, is an essential part of the organization in nearly all of the guilds studied in Peking.

*441 *467 465 871 The sixteen craft guilds all have this system. Among the commercial guilds, the workers in the Pork and Mutton Shops and the Vegetable Merchants have no regular method of apprenticeship. The Mutton Shops have only untrained workers. The employees of the Pork Shops are classified as follows: first grade, those who buy and sell pigs, receiving $15 a month; second grade, those who kill pigs, receiving $11 a month; third grade, those who catch the pigs and scrape off the bristles, receiving $4.50 a month; fourth grade, those who do odd jobs and watch the inner doors, receiving a monthly payment of $1.50. To the fourth grade workers belongs the pigs' blood, which is purchased by the workers *441 *467 871.

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

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*441 from each store at the rate of 10 coppers ($.03) for each
*467 pig, and sold at a profit. Possibly this fourth grade work
is a type of apprenticeship which is a stepping stone to the
[656] higher grades of work. To become a worker in the Vegetable Merchants Guild it is necessary to have a government license, but there is no term of required apprenticeship.

B. The Securing of Apprentices

*441 The new apprentice comes with an introduction from a
*467 friend of a guildsman, or is merely introduced by his relatives to the shop or store head. In most cases it is necessary
464 for the newcomer to have one or more guarantors who will
871 vouch for his good behavior and see that the agreement or contract entered into with the craftsman or merchant is carried out. To become a Mat Tent Builder the new apprentice must have three guarantors. The usual practice, however, is for one person, either a relative or a friend, to act in this capacity.

In *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys,* by Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell, it is shown that the boys entering the trade come entirely from the country districts outside Peking. "The shop owners go into the country where they can find some one who will guarantee the boys." [1] The Peking employers prefer these country boys because "they do not make so much trouble." Mr. Chang reports that in the guilds with which he has come in contact "practically all" apprentices are from the country. Peking boys are not wanted because their families are near by and hinder their work. They are also less industrious than boys from the country. It is probable that in Peking there is a special situation which may not obtain in other places. There is in the city a very large Manchu population, many of them descendants of the

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[1] C. C. Chu and Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys* (Peking, 1924), pp. 29-30.

retainers of the Court who were formerly kept alive by 441*
government doles of rice. It is generally considered that 467*
the Manchus in Peking are not so hardworking as the 464
Chinese. There is also in Peking a tremendous amount of 871
public charity, both of an indoor and an outdoor nature, which tends to draw to the city large numbers of persons who are not given to putting in a hard day's work.[1] The hardy villagers are better material than the poor of Peking. Furthermore, in recent years large areas of North China have suffered from famine, drought, flood, or military disturbances, which threw out of work large numbers of thrifty peasants. It is natural that in looking for good material for apprenticeship training the guildsmen should turn to these country districts as a favorable recruiting ground. The Mat Tent Builders, however, definitely require that their apprentices shall be "natives of Peking."

The Dye Stuff Stores report that "the apprentices are exclusively from among Shansi (Province) people." Such specific designation of the place from which the apprentice shall come is, however, very unusual in our reports.

C. Beginning Training

It is customary in many of the guilds to have a written 441*
contract drawn up between the guarantors and the master 467*
who is to look after the training of the new recruit. This 675
master may be the head of the shop or store, or merely one 871
of the foremen or an ordinary workman of experience. In the professional guilds he is one who has mastered the profession to be taught. In this agreement the usual arrangement is that the parent or guarantor shall supply the clothes during the period of apprenticeship. In a few cases it is specifically stated that if the apprentice is too poor the store or shop will supply clothing. It is customary for the store

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey*, chap. xi.

*441 *467 675 871 or shop to supply food and lodging for the apprentice, but there are a few exceptions to this rule. The Mat Tent Builders' apprentices provide their own food. This, however, is probably because these apprentices, unlike most others, receive from the first year a part of their wages. This sum increases proportionately each successive year of training. The apprenticeship contract also frequently includes a pledge on the part of the guarantor to repay either the whole or a part of the food expenses if the apprentice should quit his work before finishing the required term. In some cases not only must this re-payment be made but an additional fine must be paid by the guarantors if the apprentice fails to finish his term. We are informed by Mr. Chang (our investigator), however, that this rule is not usually carried out.

*441 *467 871 After the apprentice arrives to take up his work in certain of the guilds a formal procedure of bowing to the master is necessary. The Silk Thread Makers report that "the father brings the son to the master. After acknowledging the master by kowtowing (bowing with his head to the ground) to him the apprentice is admitted." The same ceremony is followed by the Confectionery Makers.

During the period of apprenticeship the master has full authority over the boy, not only acting as his teacher but taking the place of his father as one in absolute control of his activities.

> During the time of his apprenticeship, the boy is entirely under the control of his master. He lives in his store, eats his rice, is subject to his discipline, does any work that is given him, and has a chance to go home only on vacation days or when there is a wedding or funeral in the family. All of the reports telling of the duties of the apprentice state that he is to sweep out the store, make his master's bed, do the cooking and other menial tasks, and then work at his trade.[1]

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

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It is customary among the Paper Hangers to try out a worker for a short period to see whether he is of the material desired by the master. If he proves satisfactory during this preliminary trial he is formally accepted. "After a four months' trial, if satisfactory, the apprentice is accepted. In that case his parent or elder brother prepares a feast of several tables (one table ordinarily is designed for ten persons) to which he will invite the managers of shops and noted members. They are to be the witnesses and guarantors of the apprentice." The meaning of this reply is not entirely clear, but the last sentence probably means that important members of the guild, by coming to this feast, give their endorsement of the young apprentice and stand ready to help him in his period of training.

D. THE LENGTH OF APPRENTICESHIP

The usual period of apprenticeship is three years or three years and one festival, which amounts to three years and three months. Twenty-seven out of the thirty-seven guilds requiring apprenticeship have an apprenticeship period of this length.[1] The longest definite period of training mentioned is that of the Mat Tent Builders, which is seven years, while the shortest is three years. Several, however, are indefinite regarding the length required. The Story Tellers report that "as soon as he can recite on the platform, he may join the guild." There are several arrangements for the apprentices in the Blind Guild: "A blind boy applying to be an apprentice, must be accompanied by some one who introduces him, or he must present a written note of application. If any accident occurs to the apprentice the master will not be responsible. During the time of apprenticeship the master must teach him (story telling or fortune telling)." If the master does not thus teach him he must make some

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[1] *Cf.* Table XII, p. 160.

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TABLE XII

THE TERM OF APPRENTICESHIP

	Craft	Commercial	Professional
3 years	3	13	
3 years, 3 months	10	1	
4 to 5 years			1[a]
3 to 6 years			2[b]
4 years	1		
6 years			1
7 years	1[c]		
As soon as skill or art is perfected	1[e]	1[f]	1[g]
Uncertain			1[d]
No apprentice system		3	2
Total	16	18	8

financial remuneration. "The apprentice must also learn his profession," otherwise he must make a payment to the master. "Formerly each apprentice was required to pay his master 600 coppers ($1.74) every month. Now he is required to pay only 200 ($.58)." "During this period of apprenticeship the master may bring the apprentice out to do business. The apprentice receives two coppers ($.005) out of every ten coppers ($.03) made." It is natural that there should be a special statement regarding accidents in the case of these blind minstrels who are in danger of being run down in the streets.

[a] Cooks. "Four to five years. Not definite."

[b] Barbers.

[c] The Mat Tent Builders.

[d] The Blind.

[e] Cloth Pasters.

[f] Confectionery Stores. "As soon as he is able to sell he gets a salary beginning at $1.00 or $2.00."

[g] Story Tellers. "As soon as he can recite on the platform."

E. Remuneration and Hours of Work

The general rule among the craft guilds is that the ap- 441 *
rentice be given his food and lodging but no regular wage 467 *
uring his period of training. Apprentices of masters with 464
o shops are not given food but are paid the lowest wages 871
f unskilled laborers until the period of apprenticeship is ompleted. In commercial guilds a small monthly amount frequently given to apprentices after the first year.

The apprentice is often given presents at the three principal estivals of the year if he has worked well. Many comercial guilds pay rather a large reward for good work at e end of the apprenticeship period. Confectionery stores ave the custom of putting aside two coppers ($.01) a day or each apprentice to be used as "festival money." He is resented with forty or fifty coppers ($.12 or $.15) at two of e festivals [1] and at the New-Year with a special gift of one ousand coppers ($2.90). In this guild, as soon as the pprentice is able to "sell goods behind the counter, he is iven a salary which begins at $1 or $2 a month." At the d of the apprenticeship period in the Dye Stuff Stores uild the store presents the graduate with ten taels. The lat Stores Guild gives a graded income, increasing it each ear of the apprenticeship from $1 a month to $20 a month, e maximum at the end of the third year.

In replies to our inquiry regarding hours of work there 441 *
a significant lack of data, which we take to indicate that 467 *
all probability the thought of definite hours has not 466
ccurred to most of the guildsmen — the hours being as 871
ng as there is light to do work. In studying the actual umber of hours which the rug employees, both apprentices d workmen, put in, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell [2] found that

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[1] *Cf.* p. 162.

[2] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

*441 94.4 per cent of the 6,834 employed worked from twelve to
*467 fourteen hours a day, while 93.3 per cent of the same group
464 worked seven days a week. A few Christian rug factories account for the 6.7 per cent of those that had one day's rest
871 in seven. These hours are probably characteristic of the usual working hours of the apprentices, varying according to the season of the year.

The three principal festival times of the Chinese year that are reserved as holidays for the workers are: (1) the Chinese New Year season, which lasts for about ten days; (2) the Dragon Festival on the fifth day of the first month, which lasts about three days; (3) the Mid Autumn Festival on the fifteenth of the eighth month which also lasts about three days.

F. Age of Apprentices

Mr. Blaisdell in his study of the rug industry found boys as young as eight or nine years of age,[1] but the usual age of apprentices was eleven or twelve years. Mr. Gamble gives fourteen or fifteen years as the average age of the first year apprentices.[2] We have no data as to the age of the apprentices working in the stores in Peking. Undoubtedly the age varies in different industries, and also according to the conditions of famine, drought, flood and brigandage in country districts which would make it imperative for many small boys to find work in order to live. As there is no legislation regarding the age of workers and an always unlimited supply of workmen, one would naturally expect to find boys working at the earliest age wherever it is physically possible for them to carry on the activities required of apprentices. The masters, however, naturally prefer older and stronger boys who cost no more than younger boys who are not able to do much work.

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[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p, 187.

G. Ceremonies Accompanying the Completion of the Period of Apprenticeship

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There are certain procedures which the apprentice must observe after he has finished his term of service under the master. There are various means, especially in the craft guilds, by which the apprentice shows his gratitude to his teacher. It is natural that among the craft workers there should be special emphasis on this type of ceremony because, speaking generally, the craftsmen have learned much more from their teachers than the ordinary worker in the store would learn. He has become master of a special technique, while the store worker has merely learned the routine work of the business. The Awning Makers report that "at the time of graduation the manager of the shop (that is, the master) brings the apprentice to the guild to have him introduced to the other members. The apprentice presents to the guild five bundles of incense. The father or elder brother of the apprentice may or may not invite the master and the middlemen (those who originally arranged for the lad to be taken as an apprentice) to a feast. Evidently in this case the formal introduction to the guild gives the new graduate the full status of a journeyman. Unless this ceremony is performed he cannot receive the regular wage.

Among the Mat Tent Builders it is customary for the apprentice to supply two feasts in the honor of his teacher, one at the beginning of his fifth year of work, and one at the beginning of the seventh year. Wages are increased each time. The full journeyman wage is given only at the end of the seventh year. The date of inviting the guests and increasing the wages must be determined by the group (this refers to the practice of several apprentices of one shop banding together to give a joint feast to their masters). The food must be of very fine quality and prepared for tables of six persons each. If those attending the feast do

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not feel satisfied, more courses are added until complete satisfaction is given. During the feast the apprentice will kowtow to the master. After the feast he will go to the master's house and kowtow to the master's wife. She also is presented with choice food by the apprentice. This ceremony, which marks the end of the apprenticeship in the Blind Guild, is thus described: "When the apprenticeship is ended the apprentice will give a feast in the honor of his master. The persons who are invited are the friends of the master. The cost of the feast and presents will vary according to the home conditions of the apprentice. Those who come from poor homes will give the master several dollars. Those who are rich will present the master with clothes and his wife with ornaments. The contract will be burned in the presence of the guests."

The elaborate details of the initiation of apprentices into the full status of journeyman is given in the report from the Cooks Guild as follows: "After three or five years, when the term of apprenticeship has been completed, several of the masters gather together with their respective apprentices and formally sign a document which signifies that the apprentice has graduated or finished his term of training. The apprentice kowtows to his master and also to the guarantors, while his father or brother provides a feast of several tables for the party. The document that has been written must be in the handwriting of the master. Among the forms of thanking the master are: (1) the presenting of four hair pins to the master's wife; (2) the presenting of two bolts of cloth, a hat and a pair of shoes to the master, together with providing a feast for him; (3) the presenting of a hair pin called *Chiu-Lien-Luan* to the master's mother." The Tinkers report that "when the apprentice has finished his term of training, as a rule he invites the teacher to a feast which is attended by the officials of the various divisions of

the guild." The teacher in turn will supply the apprentice 441*
with a set of instruments for him to use. In this last case 467*
there is an exchange of gifts in the presenting of the instruments 871
commonly used by the tinkers in their metal work. This is the final gesture before the apprentice becomes a full-fledged worker.

H. Supplementary Education of the Apprentice

It is very evident from the material studied that in the ordinary duties of the shop or store there would be very little time for anything corresponding to the equivalent of school work for these lads. Their principal education is the knowledge of a craft or the general knowledge of the procedures of business in a store. Among the craftsmen only two guilds report any special training other than that in the craft. The Cloisonné Designers tell us that they teach the use of the abacus or counting board and writing. In the Table and Chair Makers Guild the apprentices are said to learn to keep accounts. The apprentices of all commercial guilds must learn to use the abacus and learn accounting. It is also essential in most of the stores that the apprentice know the rudiments of reading and writing before he enters upon his new occupation. We are told that in the Clock Stores they teach the apprentice French. The history of this trade, fostered by the French Fathers, would explain this special language training. In dealing with the French priests knowledge would be of value.

I. Appraisal of the Apprentice System

To a Westerner, who judges conditions from the standards which have developed in our modern industrial civilization, there are many features of the apprenticeship system that call for immediate criticism. But in considering the

*441 system with its social and economic background, we are
*467 forced to admit that it is very well adapted to Chinese life.
Formerly only the children of wealthy merchants or of the
871 more prosperous farmers had an opportunity to acquire an education, and this was of a classical and purely theoretical nature. "Education" consisted in a knowledge of the Chinese classics. "Vocational education" as such was unknown. The guild system gave to boys of ability whose parents were economically unable to allow them to study, an opportunity to learn a craft, trade or profession. The guild system relieved the family of the financial burden and prepared the boy for a future occupation. On the other hand, it supplied the Chinese merchants and craftsmen with an abundance of cheap labor. Recruited at an early age, boys who had three or more years of life in the shop and a knowledge of the ways of the craft became staunch guildsmen trained in the tradition of their group.

867 The guilds as an educational agency are most attractively and idealistically reflected through the words of the "Maxims and Rules for Apprentices" which are printed in *Peking: A Social Survey.*[1] In these maxims thrift, economy and courtesy are taught. The apprentices are urged to be of inquiring spirit and to learn how to endure hardship, and also to learn how to get on satisfactorily with their fellow men. One would think after reading these passages that the guild was primarily designed to train these young men in moral character. No doubt in many shops and stores this training is carried out successfully.[2]

*441 In greatest contrast to the principles and ideals em-
*467 bodied by these rules is the description of actual conditions
464 among apprentices in the rug industry of Peking.[3] It

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 440 and Appendix.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-9.

[3] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-39.

must be said, however, that this industry was studied at the 441*
time of the breaking up of the guild and represents the low- 467*
water mark of ancient Chinese industrial organization. The 464
Peking rug shops are shown as places to which boys re-
cruited from the country districts are brought to work for 871
three years under crowded and unsanitary conditions; then, for the most part, they are dismissed without hope of future employment, to give place to other boys who will in turn spend three years in this blind-alley profession. In the whole industry there is an average of 2.86 apprentices for each worker. "Only 25.88 per cent of the employees are skilled workers." This proportion of apprentices to workmen is not usual in Peking. Mr. Gamble's study reveals that in 1919 in the guilds the average was one apprentice to every three workmen, while a detailed study of the stores and shops in one district in Peking shows that the proportion was one apprentice to 5.8 workers.[1] These figures show the abnormal conditon of the rug industry.

In the rug industry the apprentices, working to the maxi- 466
mum of physical strength, are compelled to eat, sleep and work in rooms with poor light, with the air filled with cotton lint; to sleep on boards spread on the ground, and to eat their meals from bowls placed on the dirt floor adjoining their loom. Although many of the primitive conditions of this industry may no doubt be found in other guilds, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell were dealing here with an industry in which foreign competition had wrought havoc with the old guild precedents and where the harmonious relationships of the old shop were made difficult because of the severe competition which arose when the guild organization broke down.

A true appraisal of the life of the apprentice would prob- 441*
ably fall somewhere between the extremely rosy picture re- 467*

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-8.

*441 flected by the high-sounding guild maxims and the distressing *467 conditions in the rug industry described by Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell. The guild system had all the advantages and the disadvantages resulting from absolute paternalistic control in small shop or store units. The master, as the head of the store, was in complete control of the training and activities of the apprentice; he was in close personal touch with him, and there was abundant opportunity for kindly, benevolent and helpful treatment or for harshness and cruelty. Unlike the modern factory system, the outstanding feature of the old guild system was the close face-to-face personal contact of master, journeyman and apprentice. Many problems of modern industry which arise from a lack of understanding of the employees' problems on the part of employer because of no opportunity for first-hand acquaintance, naturally would not exist under the old guild system. Mr. Gamble's study on *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking* indicates that with the rise of prices and with the organization of labor wages rise almost automatically. Undoubtedly the close personal relationship between the managers and the workers is one of the factors that makes this easy adjustment possible.

CHAPTER X

CHARITABLE WORK OF THE GUILDS

THE most important charitable agency in China is the family clan. Kulp, Leong and Tao, and many other writers, have described the way in which the dependent members of the guild are looked after by the group. In addition to the activities of the family a great deal of general philanthropic work is being done in the nature of outdoor relief, including direct contributions to beggars and, in the winter, the establishment of *congee* or rice gruel stations where the poor are fed in large numbers. In the towns and cities there are also institutions designed especially for the aged and orphans. Great merit is supposedly acquired by contributors to these institutions. Dr. Y. Y. Tsu, in *The Spirit of Chinese Philanthropy,*[1] has described this type of activity. The large program of charitable work in Peking has been described in great detail by Mr. Gamble.[2] 741

The charitable work of the government, the records of which extend back to the *Chou Li* or laws of the Chou Dynasty supposed to have been written in 1115 B. C., was largely confined to mass relief in case of famine or disaster too great for local agencies to care for. In clan and family philanthropy there is almost as much interest in the proper burial of the dead as in the care of the living. Not only in the practices of family life, but also in the running of government poorhouses, great importance is attached to the proper supply of coffins. Chief among the benefits to be derived by inmates of an old women's home in Peking, a private charity, is the assurance of worthy burial. 741 764

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[1] Doctor's dissertation, Columbia University.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-306.

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The philanthropies of the Chinese guilds follow the general pattern of the private philanthropies of the clan and charitable institutions. Morse makes note of the charitable work in the craft and commercial guilds as follows:

> In China it is a matter of pride for well-to-do families to spend large sums on funerals, and customary for friends of the family to send contributions toward the expenses, much in the way that wedding presents are sent in the West; and the fellow-craftsmen of the deceased would be among the first to contribute. For poor members of the gild, contribution would always be made from the gild treasury, usually taking the form of a suitable coffin, and probably also of candles and offerings to the manes of the deceased.[1]

Our study of the Peking guilds shows that although there is little specific explanation regarding recipients of gifts, for the most part the charitable activities of craftsmen and professionals are confined to the needs of their own members. On one matter, however, there is specific statement—that apprentices who die without funds are to be provided with coffins. The presumption is that these philanthropic contributions are given to those whose resources, their own or their family clan's, are insufficient to meet their expenses.

The second principal use of funds is the supplying of Chinese medicine or of free medical aid to members who are ill.[2] Only one guild, the Cloisonné Designers, mentions specifically that they help unemployed members to find work.

A few typical replies will illustrate in greater detail the types of philanthropic activities carried on by the craft and professional guilds. The Cloisonné Designers report that they "provide a cemetery, pay funeral expenses, provide medicine and help workers find jobs." The Mat Tent Builders say that " the guild has no money to carry on any philanthropic work except in some cases the providing of burial for a member who is cared for by nobody." The Paper Hangers report that " there is a cemetery at Nan Hsia Wa Tze (a location in the Southern City in Peking). In case of the death of a member money is collected to buy a coffin. In case of sickness the member may go to the master's temple for care." He is allowed to live in one of the temples without paying for food or lodging. How much, if any, medical treatment is given is not known. The Actors report that they have " special plays to help raise funds for the medical care of the sick and for the burial of the dead." They also every year just before the New Year give plays, the proceeds from which are distributed in general poor relief. Both the Night Soil Guild and the Electricians Guild report that they " supply special traveling expenses for the sick who have to return home." The only other charitable activities reported by these two types of guilds are the work of the Porters in supplying free tea leaves for the tea houses on the way to *Miao Feng Shan* and a similar service for the pilgrims performed by the Tinkers in connection with the same festival. Their report says, " Every year on the seventh day of the fourth month the members work gratuitously for the pilgrims along the road to Miao Feng Shan." This pilgrimage is described in our discussion of the Porters Guild.[1] Evidently, if the dishes or other utensils carried by the pilgrims on their journey need mending, the Tinkers will do this service for nothing, thereby making both a philanthropic and a religious contribution. In most of the craft and professional guilds temporary free lodgings and board at the guild temple are given to visiting fellow craftsmen who are seeking employment.

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[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] *Cf.* Table XIII.

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In the replies of the commercial group only the Fur Guild reported the possession of a public cemetery; two others co-

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 89-90.

*441 operated in medical relief work. The Dye Stuff Stores send
*467 their sick to the *Hsien Wang* Temple to a "special quarter
741 set aside for that purpose, but the expense for medicine must
764 be borne by the patient." The Pork Shops also supply medical relief for their members.

*441 Unlike the craft and professional guilds, the principal
741 philanthropic interest of the commercial guilds is apparently
*467 for the outside public rather than for guild members. The Coal Stores give free coal to the poor, while the Rice and Flour Merchants contribute grain for famine relief, and the Restaurant Keepers piously report that whenever any philanthropic institution asks for help the guild will do its best. The Pork and Mutton Shops both report that they spend funds, as a guild, for poor relief, not specifying that the relief is for their own members. The Hotel Keepers, whom we are not including in our list, are contributors to the public *congee* or rice gruel stations and to the general outdoor relief of the cities, as well as to the famine relief fund.

The replies from Foochow and Nanking show a similar, if not a larger, volume of philanthropic work on the part of the commercial guilds there. The philanthropic activities of the Foochow Tea Guild consist in contributing to medical relief, poor relief, and insurance for the poor. The Cloth Guild of Foochow does work along similar lines, while the sole philanthropic activity of the Paper Guild is the running of a fire brigade. The Nanking Flowered Satin Stores Guild wishes it understood that they "extend the same kind of help to members and non-members, which consists in supplying a cemetery for the burial of paupers, general charitable relief for war refugees, and for those who have met with flood or drought. They also supply medical relief, coffins for paupers, wadded clothes for the poor, and distribute free tea, presumably to beggars." The informant, however, is careful to add that the guild carries on these

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measures not in an active but in a "passive manner," presumably meaning that the guild contributes when asked, but does not actively engage in promoting philanthropy.

It is evident from the above description that in so far as present activities are concerned, outside of fraternal offices to the unfortunate, the Peking guilds confine themselves in general to a limited amount of poor relief. At present at least not much is done for the public welfare. It may be that formerly the guilds took a more active part. If such were the case, the diminution of public activities would easily be explained by the present limited economic resources of the guilds and by the fact that not only is private relief increasing in Peking in recent years by leaps and bounds, but also since the founding of the Republic (in 1912), the police department—the organization of the local government that is closest to the people—has taken a very active part in relief measures both of an institutional and an outdoor nature.[1]

TABLE XIII

CHARITABLE WORK OF THE GUILDS [a]

	Craft	Commercial	Professional
A. *For members*			
Public cemeteries	7	1	1
Funeral expenses, coffins, etc.	6		3
Medical help	3	2	2
Employment	1		
B. *For the public*			
Poor relief, including giving of coal, grain, or funds for famine relief		5	
Help for pilgrims	1		1
C. *Guilds reporting "No Charity"*	1	6	3
D. *No report*	3	5	1

[a] Under A and B all activities enumerated by any guild are counted as units. The figures under C and D represent the numbers of guilds either reporting "no charity" or giving no report

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-306.

CHAPTER XI

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE GUILDS

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THE principal writers on Chinese guilds have all mentioned the custom of worshiping the master or supposed founder or patron of the guild. The ceremonies connected with this worship have been variously appraised. Morse, for example, holds that there is no distinct evidence of any strength in the common worship of the craft guilds in China.[1] The writer's conviction is that this statement is not in harmony with the evidence revealed by the present study. Before evaluating the religious practices of the guildsmen, however, we will try to present an accurate picture of the ceremonies.

In most cases where there is a regular annual meeting, the meeting is held in connection with the service of worship for the master of the guild. The business of the meeting frequently is carried on between the acts of religious drama or at different points in the religious ceremony, but the fact that there is this mixture of religious worship and business cannot be taken to signify that the worship is merely formal. Any one who has visited a Chinese temple at the time of the public fair knows that there is no incongruity or lack of reverence in the minds of the Chinese in ceremonies of worship amidst noise and confusion.

A. THE MONTH OF ANNUAL RELIGIOUS MEETING

The general meeting at which religious ceremonies are performed is usually held once a year. However, where

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[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

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there is more than one patron saint, two or even three religious meetings may be held. The dates of twenty-five such meetings show that the spring months are the most popular. Fifteen of the twenty-five meetings were held in the spring or early summer in the third, fourth, fifth, or sixth month of the lunar calendar.

TABLE XIV

DATES OF REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING

Month	No. of Guilds Meeting
1st month	2
2nd month	2
3rd month	6
4th month	4
5th month	2
6th month	3
7th month	2
8th month	0
9th month	3
10th month	0
11th month	1
12th month	0

PREVALENCE OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AMONG THE GUILDS

Religious ceremonies are most prevalent among the craftsmen. With one exception, the Dye Stuffs Guild, all the craft workers and professionals have one or more saints or gods that they worship.[1] Possibly the Dye Stuffs Guild has no patron saint because of the late date of its founding. The fact that the Electricians Guild has no patron bears out this assumption. Three of the commercial guilds have no patron saints, and the report on one of them is uncertain.

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[1] *Cf.* Table XVI, pp. 188, 189.

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TABLE XV

THE PREVALENCE OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AMONG THE GUILDS

	No. of guilds in which one or more "saints" are worshipped every year	No. of guilds in which worship recently has been discontinued	No. of guilds having no saint or no worship	No. of guilds uncertain
Handcraft	12	3	1	
Commercial	9	5	3	1
Professional	7	1		
Total	28	9	4	1

A significant feature of the replies was the evidence that regular religious ceremonies are being discontinued in a large proportion of the guilds. In nine (24.3 per cent) of the thirty-seven guilds reporting religious ceremonies, the ceremonies have been discontinued. This phenomenon is especially in evidence in the commercial guilds, five of which have in recent years discontinued their ceremonies.

The reports on this point throw some light on the reasons for discontinuance. The Confectionery Makers say that "formerly there was religious ceremony; now it is stopped." The Cloth Pasters report that "formerly we had worship at the *Ching Chung* Temple; the last few years, due to bad business, there has been none." The Shoe Fasteners report, "We have had no plays for the last few years." The Cooks report, "For about ten years there was religious worship where feasts and plays were given in the *Yao Wang* Temple. It is now stopped." The Cloth Stores, "The ceremony is now stopped." The Confectionery Stores, "There has been no play for two years." The Second-hand Clothes Merchants, "This year there was no drama." The Clock Stores, "At first (when the guild was founded) there was worship, but not now." The Dye Stuffs Guild, "Plays have been cancelled since 1900."

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One evident reason for the stopping of the plays is an economic one. Such ceremonies are costly and cannot be kept up during " bad business," as the Cloth Pasters report. In the case of the Clock Stores, the probable reason for discontinuing the worship was that originally the guild ceremonies were of a Roman Catholic nature, the guildsmen all being of that religion, but recently many Buddhists have been taken into the trade and there could be no form of religious ceremony that would satisfy both groups. Undoubtedly contact with new ideas and loss in belief in the potency of the ancient religious worship have also been factors influencing this discontinuance. In the commercial guilds where all members are able to read and where wide contacts are made through the Chamber of Commerce, the newer ideas have a fairly direct access to the minds of the guildsmen.

C. THE NAMES AND DESCRIPTION OF THE GUILD FOUNDERS OR MASTERS

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The guild founders or masters [1] were chosen from craftsmen, mythological or otherwise, who were supposed to have founded a particular craft, from emperors, historical or legendary, and from the gods of current belief. Table XVI [2] lists the masters or gods worshiped by the Peking crafts.

The most popular of these masters is the God of Wealth, who is worshiped by eight guilds. *Kung Shu Lu Pan,* whom we have already described in our study of the Carpenters,[3] is a close second, being worshiped by seven of the craft guilds. The legends and stories about these supposed foun-

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[1] The special objects of guild worship were called masters, founders, gods or patron saints, the terms sometimes being used interchangeably.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 188, 189.

[3] *Cf.* p. 100.

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ders or guardian spirits are many and are frequently contradictory.[1] The God of Wealth is not, as a matter of fact, one god, but has three representations in the persons of three historical or legendary characters. The one worshiped by the guildsmen is *Kwan Yü*, commonly known as *Wu Tsai Shen*, or the Military God of Wealth. Just why these guildsmen have selected this particular one of the three is not clear. *Kwan Yü* was a high military official and the brother of the equally famous *Yiu Pei* and lived at the time of the Three Kingdoms (A. D. 221–264). He was noted for his faithfulness to his adopted brother and for his honesty.

Tien Hwang, Ti Hwang and *Jen Hwang*, the three emperors of Heaven, Earth and Man, are the symbolical representations of the rulers at the time of the Three August Periods.[2] During these mythical reigns, first the heavens were formed, next the earth received its shape, and finally terrestrial beings took their places in the universe. To describe fully the significance in Chinese minds of the principles and potentialities symbolized by these Emperors would, of course, take us far afield from the subject in hand.

Tsao Wang, the Kitchen God, worshiped by the cooks, the waiters and the kitchen coolies, is variously described as the deification of any one of four different individuals, one of whom was a deity worshiped in the Hsia Dynasty (B. C. 2205-2146), and another, the Emperor Hwang Ti (B. C. 2697-2597), who is supposed to have been the first to build a stove.

Wen Tai Shih is thought to have been a high official of the Shang Dynasty under Emperor Chou (1154-1122).

Wen Chang Ti Chun is probably the name of a god of the Buddhist Pantheon.

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[1] Most of the following legendary material is derived from the Chinese Encyclopedia published in Shanghai by the Commercial Press.

[2] H. H. Gowan, *An Outline History of China* (Boston, 1913), p. 2.

Yü Wang was an Emperor in the Hsia Dynasty (B. C. 2205-2197). He founded the Dynasty at the time when China was flooded and in general disorder. He dug canals and widened rivers and is supposed to have built nine famous bronze tripods, the first of their kind. Since the base material of much cloisonné work is bronze, Yü Wang is worshiped by the Cloisonné Designers.

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Chu Hsi, or Philosopher Chu (A. D. 1130-1201), is the standard commentator on the writings of Confucius.

Han Yü lived in the T'ang Dynasty under Emperor Te Tzung (780-805). He was a clever philosopher who because of his great aversion to superstition tried to prevent the Emperor from collecting the bones of Buddha from which the Emperor expected to derive supernatural power. For his efforts he was demoted in official position.

Pu An Lao Tzu is worshiped by the painters who do the common work without decoration.

Wu Tao Chen Jen lived in the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618-905) and was called the Sage of Painters. He was specially famous for the painting of Buddhist gods. It is said that when he was putting the finishing touches to the eyes of a dragon he was painting, the dragon flapped his tail and walked out of the canvas. The painters who do the decorative work worship this famous artist.

Hu Tzu, or Ancestor Hu, is worshiped by the Tinkers. Hu at one time was such an able craftsman that he offered to mend a pagoda that was broken, and did so successfully. When going around the country he is said to have used the expression, "I will mend the *Ta Chia Huo*" — "the large utensils." Judging from his exploit in mending the broken pagoda it does not seem presumptous that he should be willing to make this offer!

Tang Hsuan Tsung was an Emperor of the Tang Dynasty (B. C. 713-756). He was a very sociable man, fond of

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music and drama. He is said to have gathered together the waitresses and the men servants of his court and to have trained them personally as actors and musicians. This trained band of the Emperor's servants is supposed to have been the first group of actors. This Emperor is generally known as the *Hsi Shen* or God of Happiness.

Lo Tzu is the founder of the barbers. No information as to the history of this mythological character is available.

Shih Kwang was a famous blind musician of the Chin Dynasty (B. C. 249-209). He was able by some mysterious intuition to foretell good and evil from hearing the sound of music.

Tung Fang Shuo was a blind entertainer who lived in the Han Dynasty (B. C. 202–A. D. 190). He was very famous as a maker of witty speeches and as a teller of humorous stories.

Chou Chuang Wang was an Emperor of the Chwang or Chou Dynasty who lived B. C. 696-681.

Mei Hsien Wang and *Ke Hsien Wang* are two Fairy Kings of current mythology.

Chen Wu Ta Ti is a mythological God of the North.

Sun Pin was a warrior of the T'si Dynasty (A. D. 479-501). The story is that he had his feet cut off when captured by his deadly rival, P'ang Chuan. He was returned to his patron Emperor and was successful later in annihilating his former adversary.

Mohammed and *Allah* are the deities of the Mutton Merchants in Peking, who are all Mohammedans, and hence worship at the Mohammedan Mosque in the usual fashion of their faith.

Ping Tien Ta Ti, Peaceful Heaven and Large Earth, and *Huo Shen,* the god who controls fire, are worshiped by the Pork Shops Guild.

Ching Miao Shen, God of Growing Crops, is the patron saint of the Vegetable Merchants.

D. The Pattern of the Religious Worship

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Our study shows that a general form of religious ceremony is practiced in all these guilds, irrespective of the nature of the master worshiped (with, of course, the exception of the Mohammedan Mosque service). Certain minor features are omitted and other unimportant additions are made, but the usual services held in temple, restaurant or guild correspond closely in type.

The guildsmen on arriving at the place of worship first register and pay their dues. They at once go forward to the altar for worship. Either the wooden effigy or the picture of the patron or master is the main object of worship. In front of this effigy or picture is arranged a feast for the master made up of such dishes as chicken, fish, meats, fruits, nuts, vegetables and rice. Imitation money of silver and gold paper is placed on the altar. Also, prayers printed on yellow paper from wooden cuts that are preserved and made use of each year, are hung near the guild spirit. Food, candles and incense have been prepared in advance by the officers of the guild. The candles are burned on a table in front of the portrait or image. There are also incense-burners in which incense is burning. The guildsmen, either one at a time or in groups, walk near to the altar, kneel and bow with their heads to the floor three times. They may or may not light incense themselves to place in front of the altar. In many cases photographs of prominent deceased guildsmen or scrolls containing their names are hung at either side of the main altar. These pictures are worshiped by members who had had some special personal relationship with the deceased guildsmen or whose teachers or shop masters had had such a relationship.

When most of the members have arrived the play for the god begins. Actors, hired for the purpose, give a drama for the benefit of the guild spirit who is supposed to be wit-

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nessing the performance. Before or after the play or during intermissions between parts, announcements are made and the business of the guild is discussed. Fines are announced and the names of offenders are read, or guildsmen who have transgressed the rules are summoned for trial in the presence of the master. The guilty are sometimes required to kneel before the master's picture as a sign of confession of their offences. Part of the program is the introduction of new members.

In some cases a feast is given for all the members, in others, for the officers only; and in other cases there are no feasts at the time of the annual guild meeting. Feasts also are considered an honor to the guild god.

After the worship, the play and the feast are over, it is customary for the elders or officers to carry out the ceremony known as *Sung shen,* or the ushering out of the god. This ceremony consists in carrying the paper coins and printed prayers to the outer court and burning them.

When the God of Wealth is worshiped his picture is also burned. This ceremony is supposed to signify the sending of the prayers and the contributions up to heaven to the guild master. It may or may not be witnessed by the common guild members.

There are, of course, many variations of this general pattern. For example, the Barbers specially emphasize the singing of the guild song at the ceremony, and the Mat Tent Builders, "if they can raise money enough," hire musicians to play during the day of the ceremony.

E. THE GUILDSMEN'S ESTIMATION OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP

In some of the guilds the religious service is evidently considered merely perfunctory, although among many of the craftsmen it still has considerable importance.

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The Paper Hangers tell us that the religious service is merely "a matter of tradition; it has no real effect." The representative of the Actors also says this ceremony "has no real significance." The Cooks and the Pork Shops give similar reports, and the Cloisonné Designers tell us that "the guildsmen have very keen interest in economic matters but very little in religious ones."

The transitional stage of the guilds in matters of religious worship is brought out by the following replies: "Formerly this worship had much significance but is now not significant" (Shoe Fasteners); "There was formerly a very close connection between guild worship and the general activities of the guild. Now there is no relationship at all" (Fur Merchants); "The problem of getting a living is more important than religion" (Barbers); "Worship is an unimportant thing, but the group spirit created through the meetings is very useful" (Leather Stores).

On the other hand, craft guilds and three professional guilds indicate that the religious services are still considered an important part of the guild's life. The Carpenters and the Masons indicate that there is genuine gratitude on the part of guildsmen for the craft that was handed down from the founder, Lu Pan. The Carpenters say: "The main purpose of founding the guilds is to worship the Master and express thankfulness for his handing down the technique." Some guilds express a doubt as to whether the guild would have held together except for the religious worship. The Masons say, "But for the religious bond, the guild might not have lasted so long"; the Tinkers, "But for the religious concept to overrule the mass, the guild might not have lasted so long." The idea of control, in addition to that of solidarity, is brought out by the guildsman who reported for the Awning Makers: "The relation between the religious rights and the solidarity of the guild is very close, for

*441 *467 782 offenders are brought to the master and are fined incense money." The master is considered to have control over the actions of the guild members, and the breaking of the guild rules must be confessed and retribution made before him.

In several reports from commercial and craft guilds emphasis is placed on the good fellowship and friendship created by the meetings. The Hat Stores Guild says that the significance of the religious meetings can be expressed in two words, "worship and friendship." The Tea Guild of Foochow says that "the significance of the meetings lies in the creating of an atmosphere of friendliness." The reply to this question made by the Flowered Satin Merchants Guild of Nanking pictures the attitude of the guildsmen: "The religious nature is the vital element of the Association, Master *Chiang* and *Yun Chin* having become the collective symbol of the Association. On their birthdays feasts are enjoyed, business discussed, officers elected, apprentices initiated, and a feeling of friendliness among members created." [1]

It is evident, then, that in some guilds the religious ceremonies have become merely formal, but that in others, especially among the craftsmen (who usually are less literate and less in contact with present currents of life than the merchants) and the professionals, there is still a profound conviction as to the power of the guild master and his worship.

F. EVALUATION OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN THE GUILDS

*441 *467 124 782 In endeavoring to evaluate the significance of religious worship in guild life, we should first point out that *a priori* we would expect the reports by our investigators to be biased against the worship of the guildsmen. Our investigators and Mr. Chiao, the priest, were educated men. Mr. Chiao

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[1] Master Chiang is supposed to have originated weaving, and Yun Chin, a woman, is supposed to have been the originator of sewing.

was trained in the old Confucian School and would be ex- 441*
pected to have the prejudice of the Confucian scholar against 467*
what is customarily considered by this group to be the super- 124
stitious practices of the unlettered artisans and merchants.
The three investigators were men trained in Christian col- 782
leges in China, and one of them also at Columbia University. One naturally would not expect an understanding report on the significance of these primitive religious practices from men of such background. But in spite of this background the testimony of Mr. Chang, our principal investigator, has significance. He acknowledged his previous conviction that the religious practices of the guilds were entirely formal and of no importance, but after he had studied guild after guild he was forced to admit that religious practices and beliefs were an important feature of guild life.

The decline in religious interests in many of the guilds, 441*
already noted, should not lead us to discount the original 467*
strength of the religious element in guild life. Here we can
do no more than point out certain possible interpretations of 782
the religious ceremonies.

(1) At least in the minds of certain of the craftsmen, the most important element in religious worship is genuine thanksgiving to the guild founder for having originally discovered the craft, for in so doing the founder has supplied a means of livelihood for his followers.

(2) It is possible that the religious ceremony dignifies the workmen in their own estimation of themselves. Are they not those who are in the line of succession as followers of the guild founder? They are keepers of the tradition of good workmanship, or of honesty or other virtues characterizing the master. There seems little evidence that the guilds guard as secrets the processes of their crafts. We are told, however, that certain of the dyeing processes are kept as secrets of the guild, but it has not been possible to verify this statement.

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(3) Religion has also been conceived as an aid in survival in time of group crises [1] and as a means of obtaining control of supernatural forces which aid in securing whatever is most coveted by the group.[2] It may be that in the religious worship there is this element both of dependence upon and of desire to attain control of the power or potentialities associated with the master or founder of the guild. It is supposed that a proper adjustment to him attained by following traditionally accepted forms of worship will secure the desired economic success or skill in craftsmanship.

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(4) Closely associated with this view is the conception of magic and special potency immediately issuing from the photograph or effigy of the guild founder. In describing attendance at one of the guild meetings, an eye-witness said that there was great rivalry among a group of craftsmen for a place in the row immediately in front of the effigy of Lu Pan. When asked to explain this desire for proximity to the master, Mr. Chang, our investigator, said, "This is very natural. Those behind in a group, when they worship, are worshiping the backs of the others rather than the master's effigy." It is possible that this mystical element in the belief in the securing of special blessing or power from the god may also be a factor.

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(5) There is little evidence that fear of the guild master has very much to do with the worship. However, the offender of guild rules is summoned before the guild master. Presumably he feels guilty, not only in the sight of his fellow guildsmen but also in the sight of the guild god.

(6) Dr. Goldenweiser, in his interesting treatment of totemism,[3] states that the essential factor in totemistic prac-

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[1] R. R. Marrett, *Anthropology* (New York, 1912).

[2] W. K. Wright, *A Student's Philosophy of Religion* (New York, 1922).

[3] A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization* (New York, 1922), pp. 288-90.

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tices and worship is the identification of the total social system with the symbolic object of worship. He finds in the symbols of college classes, football teams, the Elks and the Masons present-day survivals of this early notion. It is possible, especially in the case of the craft guilds, that there may be this emotional fusion of loyalty and regard for the guild, its functions and operations, with worship of the symbolic master who founded the craft. Worship of this sort would involve an emotional identification (on the part of individual worshipers) with the guild as a group. The testimony of several of the guildsmen concerning the strength of a "united body" and the "sense of solidarity" and the statement that except for the worship of the master the guild might not have held together, would seem to point in this direction.

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(7) When we analyze carefully the pattern of worship in the guild meetings we find a great similarity to the ceremonies in the clan ancestral temple. In the worship in the clan ancestral hall the ceremonies are conducted at one time by the group as a whole, while at their meetings the guildsmen come in one by one, or in groups, and worship as they arrive; but in other respects the ceremonies are strikingly similar. The portrait or tablet of the clan founder is in the center of the pictures or tablets of important family heads of past generations. The offerings are of the same character, and in both cases the ceremony of printed prayers and of kneeling three times is observed. A similar form of worship is observed in the temples at the time of special festivals in honor of certain gods. The early origin of this general worship pattern is a subject far beyond the scope of this treatment. It seems at least possible, however, that the guild worship may have originated as a mere transference of the behavior pattern of the family clan to the newly-founded guild.

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TABLE XVI

MASTERS OR GODS WORSHIPED BY THE GUILD MEMBERS

(Unless otherwise indicated, the name given is the name of an actual or supposed historical character)

	Class of guild			Total No. of guilds
	Craft	Commercial	Professional	
Tsai Shen or Kwan Yü (God of Wealth)	Cloth Pasters	Cloth Stores Coal Stores Fur Stores Pork Shops Satin and Silk Stores Second-hand Clothes Stores	Porters	8
Kung Shu Lu Pan	Awning Makers Carpenters Leather Box Makers Masons Mat Tent Makers Painters Table and Chair Makers			7
Tien Hwang, Ti Hwang, Jen Hwang (The Three Emperors—Heaven, Earth and Man)	Silk Thread Makers	Hat Stores	Blind	3
Tsao Wang (Kitchen God)			Cooks Waiters Kitchen Coolies	3
Wen Tai Shih	Confectionery Makers	Confectionery Stores		2
Wen Chang Ti Chun	Paper Hangers		Story Tellers	2
Yü Wang (King Yü)	Cloisonné Designers			1
Chu Hsi (Chu-Fu-Tzu)	Paper Hangers			1
Han Yü	Paper Hangers			1
Pu An Lao Tzu	Painters			1
Wu Tao Chen Jen	Painters			1
Hu Tzu	Tinkers			1
Tang Hsuan Tsung (or Hsi Shen—The God of Happiness)			Actors	1

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TABLE XVI—*Continued*

	Class of guild			Total No. of guilds
	Craft	Commercial	Professional	
Lo Tzu			Barbers	1
Shih Kwang			Blind	1
Tung Fang Shuo			Blind	1
Tien Hsien Sheng Mu (Heavenly Fairy Sacred Mother)			Porters	1
Chou Chuang Wang (Emperor Chuang of the Chou Dynasty)			Story Tellers	1
Mei Hsien Wang (Fairy King)		Dye Stuff		1
Ke Hsien Wang (Fairy King)		Dye Stuff		1
Chen Wu Ta Ti		Dye Stuff		1
Sun Pin		Leather Stores		1
Mohammed and Allah		Mutton Shops		1
Ping Tien Ta Ti		Pork Shops		1
Huo Shen (God of Fire)		Pork Shops		1
Ching Miao Shen (God of Growing Crops)		Vegetable Merchants		1

CHAPTER XII

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE GUILDS

*441 *467 SEVERAL important functions of the Peking Guilds, or their modes of activity and control, have already been described. Most of the guilds are educational institutions with apprenticeship systems. Many include the functions of religious societies and have definite forms of religious practice. Many also act as philanthropic agencies, giving relief to their destitute members and, in some few cases, charitable aid to the poor of the city. Except for these few cases of general charitable work, the guilds carry on no civic activities. In fact, they contest with the public authorities more often than they cooperate with them for the public welfare. They discipline their members, fining and punishing them for misbehavior. Their control sometimes extends to non-members who are trying to carry on business in the guild area.

The primary functions of the guilds are of course economic. They consist in general in (1) maintaining monoply for guild members; (2) preventing competition within the guild; and (3) determining prices and wages and otherwise regulating the economic procedure of guildsmen. There is very little evidence that the Peking guilds endeavor to standardize products or to regulate hours of work.

A. THE FIXING OF PRICES AND WAGES AND THE STANDARDIZING OF GOODS

125 127 There are three ways of arriving at an understanding of how the guilds function:

(1) Through the replies to the questionnaire we are in 125
a position to see what the guildsmen consider the principal 127
functions of their organizations.

(2) The study of the regulations of the guilds of Peking and of the South reveals the standards of activity that these guildsmen set for themselves.

(3) The description of recorded guild happenings, either in Peking or in South China, shows us how guildsmen behave under certain circumstances.

We will first deal with material from our own investiga- 125
tion. The replies to questions pertaining to the functions of the guilds were more meager than in any other section. Perhaps the reason for this dearth of material is that the guild activities to be reported on seemed so common and ordinary to the reporters that they did not consider them worth mentioning. The customary procedure had become so closely identified with the very structure of the guildsmen's social world that in many cases our informants had never thought of how the guilds operated.

Already we have dealt with the limitations of the guild 441*
area[1] and the usual monopoly of the particular craft, trade or 467*
profession in the designated locality.[2] The same definiteness in the area of operation and an even greater insistance on one hundred per cent guild membership for all workers in the local district characterize the guilds of similar type in South and Central China described by Macgowan and Morse.[3]

Table XVII[3] shows that most guilds have no regulations 441*
concerning the fixing of prices and wages. In the craft 467*
guilds, prices are definitely fixed by only five groups and 465
wages are definitely standardized by only nine groups out

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 127-129.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 130-131.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 192-193.

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TABLE XVII

GUILDS FIXING PRICES AND WAGES AND STANDARDIZING GOODS

	Guilds fixing prices	Guilds fixing wages	Guilds standardizing goods
Craft			
1. Awning Makers	No	Yes	
2. Confectionery Makers	"	No	
3. Carpenters	"	Yes	
4. Cloth Pasters	Yes	No	
5. Cloisonné Designers		Yes	No
6. Dyers	Yes		
7. Leather Box Makers	Yes	No	No
8. Masons		Yes	
9. Mat Tent Makers	No	No	
10. Paper Hangers	"	"	
11. Painters		Yes	
12. Shoe Fasteners	Yes	Yes	
13. Silk Thread Makers	No	No	
14. Tailors	Yes	Yes	
15. Table and Chair Makers		"	
16. Tinkers		Yes	
Total	5 yes	9 yes	0 yes
Commercial			
1. Clock Stores	Yes	No	No
2. Cloth Stores	No	No	
3. Coal Stores	Yes	"	
4. Confectionery Stores	No	"	
5. Dye Stuff Stores	"	"	
6. Fur Stores	No*	"	
7. Hat Stores	No	"	
8. Leather Stores	Yes	"	
9. Mutton Shops		"	
10. Oil Stores	No	"	
11. Pork Shops	"		
12. Rice and Flour Stores	"		
13. Restaurants	"	No	
14. Satin and Silk stores	"	"	
15. Second-hand Clothes Stores	"	"	
16. Shoe Stores	"	"	
17. Sweet Oil Stores	"	"	
18. Vegetable Sellers			
Total	3 yes	0 yes	0 yes

* Formerly fixed prices.

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TABLE XVII—*Continued*

	Guilds fixing prices	Guilds fixing wages	Guilds standardizing goods
Professional			
1. Actors		No	
2. Barbers	Yes		
3. Blind	"	No	
4. Cooks		"	
5. Story Tellers		"	
6. Waiters		"	
7. Kitchen Coolies			
8. Porters	No	Yes	
Total	2 yes	1 yes	0 yes

of the sixteen. Among the professional guilds the Barbers, the Blind and the Porters have guild rates for their services, but only the Porters have a minimum guild-determined wage. In the commercial guilds the Clock Stores have regular rates for mending, and two other guilds have fixed prices. Wages are not determined by any of the commercial guilds. There were very few replies to the question about the standardization of goods. There is no evidence in the guildsmen's reports that there is any such practice.

The minute regulation and procedure carefully described by Morse and Macgowan seem to be lacking in most of the Peking guilds. The question naturally arises, if so few guilds regulate these important economic procedures, wherein lie their undoubted strength and control? The answer seems to be that the reports should be judged in the light of common practice rather than from the legalistic Western viewpoint, which always looks for a regulation or a law as a needed instrument for guiding economic relations of this type. Gamble[1] has brought out the fact that wages are

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[1] Meng and Gamble, *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking.*

*441 raised by the guilds when the prices of food rise or when
*467 money values fall. He shows that there is a very definite
465 customary standard of living on the one hand for the un-
626 skilled laborers, and on the other, for the skilled artisans.
The masters of the shops and stores recognize this standard
and are quick to grant the needed increase whenever circum-
stances warrant. Custom rather than definite guild action
*441 largely determines wages in these guilds. The same is true,
*467 perhaps to a lesser degree, in relation to prices. No detailed
435 study has been made of the prices of most of the products
626 made or sold by the Peking guildsmen, but here also custom
is probably a determining factor in establishing what is prac-
tically a guild rate for certain products.

The only evidence that we can find of any direct effort on
the part of Peking guilds to standardize products is the
attempt of the Rug Guild to set a definite price for rugs
with a definite number of threads to the inch. This attempt
failed because a poor quality of wool was introduced into
[804] the rugs of many of the merchants.[1] There is, however,
evidence of guild control of weights and measures.[2] When
a new store is organized for the sale of dyes, after the dues
are paid, the guild presents the new store with a set of standard scales.

It is possible that in the earlier days there was more of an effort to standardize the goods made or sold. However, here also custom plays a very powerful rôle. In Pao Ting Fu, a large city south of Peking, certain definite types of brass teapots are made. There were only three or four very carefully fixed patterns. Other kinds of teapots simply were not made. Not until an enterprising foreigner drew other designs could these merchants be induced to produce anything but the fixed standard makes. Uniformity of design and process is also characteristic of many other crafts.

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[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 197-198.

Other considerations tend to stabilize prices and wages 441*
and the quality of goods even when there are no fixed guild 467*
rules regarding them. Any one who has stood in a Chinese 435
market where craft-made goods of many sorts are sold and 432
has watched the Chinese buyer does not need to be convinced that the customer is a shrewd judge of the quality of the product. Acquainted with the limited number of fixed styles, patterns, and qualities in which the goods are produced, the buyer is competent to judge the quality of the goods. Whether he wishes to buy silk, cloth or brass, hats or shoes, he knows quite well the characteristics of the product. The numerous guild regulations against the stealing of customers [1] make shopmen very canny about any change of price which would tend to draw customers from other shops. What is perhaps even more important than any of these considerations is the personal relations of the guildsmen. Many of the stores and shops of similar character are located in one geographical section. Every one has a check on every one else and all are personally acquainted. Any move to lower wages or prices which would tend to put a fellow guildsman at a disadvantage is discerned at once and reflected in the attitude of the rest of the group.

These considerations, however, are not a substitute for strict supervision of the quality of guild products, such as is described by Morse and Macgowan as existing in other parts of China. Although we have no comparative data covering a period of years on the regulation of wages, prices and standards of products, it is our opinion that the present lack of definiteness on these subjects is probably one more sign of the failing authority of the guild, owing to changed political and economic conditions. Certainly it is true that according to the reports of Macgowan, Morse and Williams, it is the rule, rather than the exception, for guilds in Central

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[1] *Cf.* p. 198.

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*467 and Southern China to fix prices and wages and to stand-
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435 ardize goods.

B. Guild Regulations

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We are greatly indebted, especially to Macgowan, for the translation of the printed regulations of a great variety of guilds. Gamble has supplemented this material by the very detailed regulations of the Barbers Guild of Peking. A study of these documents shows the great variety of regulations in almost every feature of guild life, for in each case the rules are adapted to the demands of the particular craft or trade.

Macgowen gives in great detail the rules adopted in 1876 by the Wenchow Silk Weavers Union. These rules were a revision of the original rules adopted in 1842 which had fallen into disuse. A summarization of a few of the regulations follows.

Journeymen.—" A hand who is employed by one manufacturer shall not surreptitiously work for another; the penalty for transgressing is a theatrical performance and a feast for ten." The fine for stealing silk from employers is expulsion from the trade. The purchaser of such stolen goods is fined a play and a feast for over ten. " No employer shall engage a journeyman if that hand is in debt to his master." At the beginning of the new year workmen are at liberty to make engagements with other manufacturers if their debts are paid. At the beginning of each year the master shall advance to the journeyman from two to four months' wages. No more wages shall be paid until this sum is worked off.

Apprentices. — The apprentice must give a feast to the guildsmen of the establishment when he starts his work. The apprenticeship lasts for five years, during the last two of which the worker must serve his master as journeyman.

Until this requirement is fulfilled he cannot apply for work 441*
elsewhere. If a manufacturer endeavors to get him away, 467*
he shall be fined a play and the apprentice shall be compelled 286
to fulfil a years' contract. Apprentices are required to be respectful to journeyman.[1]

Quality of Work Done. — There are regulations fixing both quality and price of paper umbrellas. "Dealers who put on the market defective articles are mulcted to the same extent as if guilty of disposing of ware at less than the established tariff of the trade."[2]

Dyeing.—The Silk Weavers dye their own silk. It is a rule that weaving must be taught first and dyeing next. "A theatrical performance is the penalty for disregard of this rule." "No shop shall have more than one apprentice at dyeing at the same time."

Masters.—When a new shop is opened the proprietor shall subscribe $3,000 cash for temple purposes. "Manufacturers shall have but one member of their family learning the art at one time." "A shop of three looms shall have two apprentices, no more." "Quarrels among members are to be settled by arbitration." Suitable fines are imposed for failure to obey this regulation. Any pewterer who alloys a tin article with lead is amerced by the trade as surely as if he sold articles for less than his fellow craftsmen.

The guild rules pertaining to the fixing of prices and 441*
measures are thus described by Gamble: 467*

> It has been the gilds, rather than the Government, that have established and maintained trade standards of weight, measure and quality, though the ones adopted by the different gilds have not necessarily been the same. Even now, there are 12, 15 and 16 ounce "catties" in use as standards of weight, the tailor's rule and the carpenter's rule are not the same length, and there

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[1] Macgowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-5.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 179.

*441 are numerous "taels" used in accounting and the making of
*467 payments. These taels all have a different exchange rate when converted into dollars. Trouble over the question of which tael should be used was one of the chief reasons for the establishment of the Peking Fur Gild.[1]

*441 The minute regulations of the Peking Barbers Guild give
*467 insight into the great care taken to restrict competition and
305 to give to all members an equal chance to have their just
[435] share of business.[2] The regulations prescribe that if the regular customer of one shop goes to another shop, an additional charge of ten per cent above the regular guild rate for a haircut or shave must be made. Very strict prohibitions are made against inducing customers to leave one store and come to another. "If an apprentice, who has not graduated according to the terms of his apprenticeship, gives up his work, without good reason, the gild will pay back to his master the cost of his room and board."[3] A storekeeper who has trouble with his workers or apprentices must bring the matter to the guild court before taking it to the public officials.

> If an apprentice of one of our shops goes to another of our shops without his teacher's consent, the gild must be informed so that it may send the apprentice back to his master. If, however, the shopkeeper employs the apprentice without telling the gild, he shall be severely fined.
>
> If a member of our gild organizes a new shop, either with his own capital or the capital of some proprietor, he must state to the gild the location of the shop and have it registered in the gild. He must pay to the gild one tael for incense expenses.[4]

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-1.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 431-8.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 434.

[4] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

There are also minute regulations regarding the personal behavior of the guildsmen. Managers and workers must not gamble or smoke opium. They must wear clean clothes. and "must not wear the hair so that it hangs upon the shoulders." 441 * 467 * 305

> The managers and workers must not laugh or make jokes among themselves while they are at work. They must not smoke cigarettes in front of their customers.
>
> The managers and workers must not drink wine during the day, and the eating of onions and garlic is absolutely forbidden by the gild.
>
> The managers and workers must clean the combs and other instruments as soon as they have finished their work.[1]

Our own reports on the guilds in most cases did not give details of their regulations, although several guilds stated that there were written rules. The Leather Stores report these regulations: (1) When an apprentice has finished his three years, the master may send him to a shop to be employed; but if the master does not permit him to be thus employed by the shop, no shop is allowed to engage him. Violation of this rule will be punished by deprivation of membership (2) When workers lose sheets of leather or take them away for sale, other shops are not allowed to buy the leather. Violation of this rule will be punished by a fine of ten times as much as the value of the leather. (3) When the stores of the guild sell leather they must sell it at the standard rate of the Sung Chiang tael. If the tael is reckoned in current Chinese currency, the transaction must be reckoned according to the full market rate of the Chinese dollar. Documents recording such transactions must have the guild seal attached. There will be a fine or 600 coppers ($1.74) for incense money for violation of this rule. (4) 441 * 467 * 282

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-7.

*441 When joining the guild fees must be paid on time. No fees
*467 will be collected after the proper date. Failure to pay the
282 fee will result in expulsion from the guild. If the offender
wishes to join the guild again, he will be fined 12,000 coppers ($34.78) and must give a play before the altar of the God of Wealth. (5) If the president (of the guild) fails to appear on the 26th of the third month, the day for worship and the theatrical performance, he is fined 600 coppers ($1.74).

C. The Enforcement of Guild Rules

*441 One of the principal differences between the functioning
*467 of the guilds described by Macgowan and Morse in South
627 China and the activities of the Peking guilds as depicted in
our study is the degree in which the strict rules and regulations of these organizations are enforced. The old machinery for the enforcement of guild decisions still exists, but its effectiveness in Peking in many cases is very evidently impaired.

GUILD COURTS

In most of the Peking guilds, at the time of the annual meeting, the respected elders of experience in the guild are appointed to be judges of persons reported to have broken the guild rules. The usual regulations are that for light offenses the fine shall be incense; for heavy offenses, money in varying amounts; and for the worst crimes, the penalty shall be expulsion from the guild. Corporal punishment is no longer permitted by the police.

Where there is religious service the trial of offenders is held in the presence of the guild god and frequently one of the penalties is kneeling before the guild master in public admission of guilt and asking for forgiveness. Committees act as boards of arbitration when there are disputes between guild members. "They cannot compel any one to give testimony and have no way of enforcing their decisions except for the power of public opinion." [1] It is possible for guild members who think they have been unjustly treated to appeal to the courts. Practically, recourse to an official is seldom made use of, for the decision already arrived at by the guild has great weight with the official and in most cases he will simply endorse the decison already made.

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Mr. Gamble gives this description of guild court procedure:

> It was our good fortune to see one of the Gild Courts in session. The committee, the interested parties and their witnesses met in a temple. There the goods, concerning which the case had arisen, were set in front of the committee, and each side briefly gave its testimony. The witnesses were heard, and after a short conference the committee gave its decision. This was accepted as final, both parties arose, bowed to the committee and to each other, and the matter was closed. A half-hour sufficed to settle satisfactorily a case which, if taken before the official, would have meant at least a day's travel for all of the parties concerned, besides possible delays and inconveniences. [2]

Detailed court procedures of the Peking Blind Guild were given by the representative of that organization. Presumably these are the regulations observed prior to the action of the police forbidding corporal punishment. When a member violates a rule he will be sent to the head of the section (of the guild) in which he lives. The head of that section will notify the other sections and fix a day for trial. Each of the other sections will send three or four of their "leaders" to participate in the trial as judges. During the meeting of worship any member who has been wronged by another "may plead his case before the god." "The officers present

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-5.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

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will judge the case." Three sticks of varying weights are used in punishing prisoners. (a) For serious cases stick No. 1 is used. The guilty person is beaten one hundred times and then driven out of the city. (b) For less serious cases stick No. 2 is used. The culprit is beaten seventy times. (c) For minor cases stick No. 3 is used and the offender is beaten forty times. "If any one speaks in behalf of the guilty one, his punishment very likely will be less severe." In addition to being beaten, offenders may be fined incense money. A fine of ten packages of incense costs 50 coppers ($.15). If members are wronged by persons outside the guild, the guild will demand justice. If the offending party is not reasonable the guild will fight him. The particular methods of fighting this outside offender are not indicated.

According to Macgowan, the decisions of the guilds, whether passed at the business meetings or penalties imposed by the guild court, were always carried out.

> As regards handicraft associations, their Unions are most exacting and arbitrary; no recalcitrant members can escape punishment, nor can any obtain employment who are not in good standing for fidelity to the craft. Ordinarily, mild measures are resorted to; the offending member is waited on and invited to repair to a tea-house. Resistance would be useless. He goes, and is there under arrest, surrounded by successive relays of fellow-craftsmen, until he pays the amount for which he is mulcted, or until friends or employers advance money to satisfy the demand. It is rare indeed that such measures fail, and occasions seldom exist for inflicting cruelties like those of which Western mechanics have been guilty.[1]

In our reports very few details are given as to the manner in which decisions are carried out. Guilds simply state that

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[1] Macgowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-2.

"rules are strictly enforced," or, in some cases, that rules once were enforced but are no longer, or that "rules are not enforced." There is every indication that this loosening of the hold of the guild upon the activities of its members is a change from the ancient system. 441* 467* 627

The Peking Tinkers still observe the custom of taking the tools away from an offending guildsman who will not listen to the decisions of the group. Expulsion was the final weapon used by the guild, and was usually followed by a complete boycott by the guild members, which often made it practically impossible for the artisan or tradesman to conduct his work even if he had the temerity to attempt it. This weapon is still used, but is less effective than formerly.

D. UNITED ACTION BY THE GUILD

Weapons used with great effect by Chinese guildsmen are the strike and the boycott. Group action is used to bring to terms both offending individuals and opposing groups. 441* 467*

STRIKES WITHIN THE GUILD

Because of the lack of differentiated organization between journeymen and shop master, and because of the close personal relationships in shop or store, severe disputes between them are infrequent. The journeymen have a customary scale of living which they desire to maintain. With changes in money exchange or in the prices of necessities, the masters ordinarily make needed adjustments in wages. Difficulties do sometimes arise, however, and the usual procedure is for the journeymen to get together in the temple or guild house and make certain united demands upon the employers. The controversy is usually quickly settled. There are, however, recorded cases of the most severe retribution on masters who failed to give the proper wage or who took on more apprentices than the guild

*441 *467 regulations allowed. The story of the cruel beating to death of an offender in Foochow is described by Macgowan.[1] Macgowan points out, however, that such procedure is very unusual and that difficulties within the guild are usually settled without undue friction.

*441 *467 468 Strikes of employees against employers took place in Peking in 1885 when both the Shoe Makers and Jade Workers struck for higher wages, both failing to secure their demands.[2]

> The Jade Workers asked that they be paid 6 cash instead of 4 for making a hole in the mouth-piece of a pipe. Their demand was refused by the employers and the case was taken before the gild. Most of the judges who heard the case were store owners, and they decided against the workers. The men went on strike, but were unable to successfully maintain it, as they had no money with which to support their families. Even though there has been no strike since then, the wages of the Jade Workers have risen a full 100 per cent in the last 15 years.
>
> When the Shoemakers went on strike, their case was taken before the officials. They claimed that the men had no just cause for striking, and ordered them to return to work. In giving their decision, the officials advised the employers to hire new men if their regular workers would not return at the old rate.[3]

An important consideration in judging the significance of the decisions is the fact that strikes by employees against employers were illegal under the laws of the Manchu Dynasty. The employers would therefore naturally be favored in the decisions.

Macgowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183.

Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

Ibid., p. 196.

DISPUTES

Most of the guilds studied in Peking are completely autonomous (except in the case of the commercial guilds, which agreed to certain restrictions on joining the Chamber of Commerce). There are, however, in certain cases, close relationships between the guilds of certain occupations. The Shoe Fasteners' products are necessarily bought by the Shoe Stores, while the Confectionery Makers supply their products to the Confectionery Stores. The Carpenters, Masons, and Painters are closely related in building enterprises. Frequently the same guild founder is worshiped by guilds of related trades. 441* 467* 468

The records of Peking guilds show that there is frequent friction between the Awning Makers and the Mat Tent Builders. The Confectionery Makers have struck several times, demanding higher wages from the Confectionery Stores' managers.

In 1900 the Shoe Fasteners struck to increase the rates paid for their work by the Shoe Stores, and they received the increase. In 1912 another dispute arose between these guilds because the Shoe Stores "stopped giving out work." The Shoe Fasteners brought the matter before the civil court and sued the Stores for damages. The matter was patched up, the Shoe Stores expressing apology and good will by inviting the Shoe Fasteners to a feast! Relations thereafter were amicably renewed. In 1924 the Shoe Fasteners again struck for an increase in wages.

CONFLICTS WITH THE OFFICIALS

The weapon of the strike is used most powerfully and frequently with far-reaching effects against grasping or exorbitant officials. The revision of rules of the Wenchow Carpenters Guild when officials attempted to demand more 441* 467* 468 656

* 441 work of the Carpenters than they felt they should give on
* 467 public repairs, is a good illustration of the method of the
468 guilds in dealing with officials.

> 656 Revision of Rules. Our trade is represented before the mandarinate by five headmen (selected by the carpenters from their craft, who are recognized by magistrates, and on whom demands are made when repairs of yamens are needed), who undertake public works. Heretofore they have conformed to rule, exacting one day each year for our employment for mandarins, for which one hundred *coppers* per diem was paid, and three meals, and in lieu of that service, an exaction of a hundred *cash*. But now there is a demand for additional service, which we refuse to render, or to pay money in lieu thereof, and there are none to perform needful repairs of the public offices. On this emergency the mandarinate have ordered us to elect five other headmen, who shall act in accordance with established rules, that hereafter no more than one day's work in a year shall be exacted of us, nor more than a hundred *cash* in commutation for such service. This we have done; and we have agreed that when any member of the Union refuses to pay that amount, the newly elected headmen shall mulct the masters who employ them. [Macgowan adds] This strike, like all others that take place, ended in the triumph of wage-earners.[1]

* 441 Our records show friction between the local government
* 467 and the guilds in many cases. The Scavengers Guild in
656 1925 refused to empty the public latreens because of a new
police regulation which forbad the pushers to stand their wheelbarrows in certain places on the street. After several days, owing to the pressure of citizens of the West City who were greatly inconvenienced by the failure of scavengers to appear, the police regulations were rescinded. The reorganization of several of the guilds in Peking was clearly the result of a conviction on the part of the members that

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[1] Macgowan, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

they must unite in order to resist unjust taxation. This is 441*
true also of the Rice and Flour Guild and the Mutton and 467*
Pork Shops.[1] 656

The tremendous power of the guilds in their relationship to the government is described by Williams as follows:

> The guilds of China are not organized under charters from the Government, but the Government has always recognized their power and has usually been careful to avoid open conflict. Conflict, as we have seen, has usually resulted in defeat for the Government.
>
> The guilds, as already stated, have their own courts, and the members, as a rule, avoid the official courts. Sometimes, however, it is impossible to do this. Outside parties bring suits against guild members before the government officials, and these members must appear, just as other citizens do. In the past, however, the government courts have usually decided such cases in harmony with the regulations of the guild concerned.[2]

Although the growing power of political and municipal government in Peking has very effectively weakened the prestige and power of the guilds, all the evidence we have indicates that great strength and solidarity characterized them in the past. Whether or not such activities were, as Williams thinks, a contribution in the "defense of popular liberty," [3] is, however, another question. There seems to be no indication, at least from our study of the Peking guilds, that the sense of general civic responsibility and of public service was uppermost in the minds of the guildsmen. Their activities seem to have been directed primarily for the benefit of their own group rather than from a sense of duty to the public welfare.

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 259-260.

[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-4.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

BOYCOTTS

*441 *467 468 648 A powerful means of bringing the offender to terms is the boycott. Many instances are cited by writers on the guilds of the complete economic isolation and social ostracism of guildsmen who refuse to conform to guild decisions. Such treatment usually brings them to terms quickly.

The same weapon has been used against foreign shipping concerns by Chinese guildsmen in Canton, Shanghai and other ports. Failure to comply with guild rules or offense against what guildsmen consider the principles of justice on the part of a foreign shipping concern may result in inability to secure any workers to load or unload the ships. The boycott has been used on a larger scale not only by individual guilds but by the combined merchant and student class of China in dealing with international injustices. The most striking recent instance is the boycotting of British trade in Canton, which was a protest against the shooting of students in Shanghai by the municipal police on May 30, 1925. The tremendous strength, determination and unity of spirit exhibited in these boycotts has in recent years become a factor of first importance in the settlement of international questions in the Far East.

E. Source of the Guilds' Power

*441 *467 125 The cohesive strength of a Chinese guild when in action, whether in standing together against the encroachment of the officials or in demanding higher pay for the services of its members, is one of the outstanding characteristics of these groups. Is it possible to discover the source of this unquestioned solidarity?

The guildsmen's own testimony as to what they considered the factors that held the guild together and made it possible for united action is recorded in Table XVIII. Two questions were asked — the first was a direct inquiry as to the source

of the guild's strength; the second consisted of six items to 441 *
be checked. Because of the vagueness of some of the terms 467 *
used and because of the added fact that for seventeen of the 125
forty-two guilds there were no replies, the information has little more than suggestive value. Points which the guildsmen added of their own initiative, however, point out sources of strength which occurred to their minds without our suggestion and which have, therefore, relatively more significance than those indicated by the checking of our headings.

The advantages of cooperation in making a living is the 441 *
principal factor indicated as the source of the guild's strength. 467 *
Guildsmen consider their guild as an organization that insures them a livelihood. Solidarity and a united front against those who would oppress the group are essential if economic privileges are to be maintained.

Tradition, with fourteen votes, is the next highest. It has been the custom to work together in the guilds. The apprentice has grown up through the system and has become an integral part of the organization. As he has seen the older guildsmen act in carrying on the practices common to the group, so he acts.

It is significant that the representatives of twelve guilds mentioned " religious belief " as a source of the group solidarity and strength. Men bound together in worship of a common master have a deep bond of unity. A worker in Peking in discussing disputes between two guilds, remarked that " Those guildsmen cannot get on together because they do not worship the same master."

The sense of solidarity or unity in a common fellowship is mentioned by eleven guilds.

The reason for the blank opposite the term " democratic desire " is that the expression was translated into modern political terms, signifying rule by the people as advocated by Young China. The guildsmen no doubt do not think of themselves as democratic in this sense.

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TABLE XVIII

GUILDSMEN'S BELIEFS REGARDING THE SOURCE OF THE GUILD'S STRENGTH OR AUTHORITY OVER ITS MEMBERS

Topics on original questionnaire	Classes of Guilds			Total
	Craft	Commercial	Professional	
1. Fear	3	2	2	7
2. Tradition	6	5	3	14
3. The inspiration of the leaders	6	3	1	10
4. Mutual advantage, cooperation, "making a living"	9	5	8	22
5. Democratic desire				
6. Personal influence of leaders	3	2		5
Additional factors inserted by guildsmen				
7. Religious belief	6	3	3	12
8. Protection from outside pressure		3	3	6
9. Solidarity, sense of group unity	7	1	3	11
10. Maintenance of moral standards	1			1
Guilds answering	11	5	9	25
Guilds not answering	5	3	9	17

Our study would confirm in general the statements of the guildsmen as to the source of the guild's power with the exception that certainly, from all reports and observations, protection from official pressure is a much greater factor in producing group solidarity than would be gathered from these replies. The solidarity of the guildsmen appears to be a natural response to an environment where those who would have food must unite or sink to a very low level of subsistence, and where those who would keep what they have earned must stand firmly together against a government avariciously seeking resources from every quarter possible.

F. DEFINITION OF "GUILD"

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No better place could be chosen for defining the guilds a little more carefully than after the consideration of their functions, for only by classifying the common functions of these groups can we come to a determination of their nature. There are six characteristics that we find common to all these guilds:

(1) They are local in character and field of operation, being restricted to Peking and its immediate vicinity.

(2) The general object is to conserve the welfare of all the members of the respective groups. They are organized to attain various objects considered of value to the individuals of the group. In general, the plans and regulations of the craft and professional groups are determined by both master and man, while in the commercial groups the control is almost entirely in the hands of the store managers. All procedures and regulations, however, are presumably for the benefit of the entire group.

(3) The guild is a face-to-face group. The relationships between master, journeyman and apprentice are of a very close personal nature.

(4) All the guilds are intended in some form or other to limit unrestricted competition between members. The means used vary, but the very essence of the guild is to prevent unrestricted competition and to insure at least a minimum of opportunity for each member, and to check those who would seek undue personal advantage at the expense of his fellow guildsmen.

(5) All these groups appear at least to have the capacity for presenting a solid front againt an opposing body, whether another guild, the buying or the employing public, or the officials. This group solidarity is, of course, characteristic not only of the guilds but also of the family clan in the vil-

*441 *467 lage, but nevertheless it should be listed as one of the essential features of the guilds.

(6) The expenses of operating the guilds are shared by the members. The greater part of their income usually is derived from fees paid by the members.

Other characteristics[4] fairly common but not always present are:

[477] (1) A complete monopoly of the business, trade or profession in the guild area. This monopoly may be an explicit guild rule or it may be merely a natural consequence of the practical necessity on the part of guildsmen to join the guild if they are to make a living.

(2) Religious worship of the supposed guild founder or guild god, common especially among the craft and professional guilds, but also found in a goodly proportion of the commercial guilds.

(3) The apprentice system, characteristic of most guilds.

(4) An annual guild meeting at which important policies are settled, attended by all or part of the members, common to most guilds. A banquet of guild members is usually held in conjunction with this meeting.

Systems of organization are so various that it is impossible to make a blanket statement regarding a common type of guild structure.

G. EVALUATION OF THE GUILD SYSTEM

An appraisal of the guild system is only possible in the light of the social setting in China. On the one hand, the guild organization was unquestionably an extremely effective and powerful weapon for aiding in the group survival in an economic situation where the prizes went to those who could work together to protect their mutual interests. The guild also enabled these common workmen to withstand the pressure of the mandarin and to hold fast the economic gains that they were able to make. While thus maintaining

[4] [OF THE GUILDS -- ANALYST]

a solid front to opposition and rivalry from without, 441*
within the guild close cooperation and personal relationships 467*
were developed. This feeling of solidarity was reinforced by belief in a common guild patron-founder. In many cases a high code of integrity, carefulness and faithful craftsmanship were taught the apprentices, reinforced by the religious sanction of the founder's example and embodied in guild tradition. A limited democracy arose within the guild. In the craft guilds on certain occasions any journeyman was at liberty to express his opinion, while in both the craft and the professional guilds there developed democratic cooperation between the heads of the shops or stores, modified somewhat by respect for the more aged and by deference to the teacher whose former apprentices often had become heads of their shops and stores.

The defects of the guilds were also a natural consequence of the environmental pressure. The extreme localism was a necessity because of the limitations of communication. The almost total lack of genuine civic interest was inevitable under the ancient Chinese official organization where the functions of the government were merely to keep order and collect taxes, where there was no desire for any cooperation of the people in public affairs other than obedience. The guild system itself limited individual enterprise and also restricted originality. The uniformity and limited number of Chinese products are unquestionably the result of the guild system. The craft guilds gave no special patent rights to the inventors of new patterns or designs, and hence economic incentive for improvement or innovation was lacking. Conformity to precedent, harmony with the group, and absence of all desire to take advantage of others were the virtues desired. Originality and initiative give an undue advantage to individual shop or store heads which might bring them into competition with their slower and less original fellow guildsmen.

CHAPTER XIII

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN GUILD LIFE AND THE PROBABLE FUTURE OF THE GUILDS

*441 *467 Indications that Peking guilds are changing in many respects have been evident at many points in our study. We have found among these indications loss of religious worship, failure to enforce rules, the giving-up of the apprentice system, the inability of the guildsmen to punish offenders, their reluctance to report non-members who are operating in guild areas, the acknowledged growing lack of interest by members in many guilds and their failure to attend meetings to which formerly every one came.

In dealing with these changes and modifications the previous chapters have merely given a descriptive presentation of these transformations without attempting their interpretation. In order to understand more clearly these processes of guild transformation or disintegration, or even roughly to forecast the future of the Peking guilds, it is necessary for us to go beyond the restricted limits of our local area and study the changes taking place in similar guilds in localities less secluded from the impacts of Western culture where these changes have consequently been more marked and
*441 thoroughgoing. The Peking guilds have been relatively
*467 shielded from many of the significant currents of modern
439 China. The two principal reasons for this are: (a) the local
651 tax[1] on all goods imported into the city which has blocked the development of modern factories because of the high cost of imported machinery and of raw material and given a virtual protective tariff to Peking guild-made products,

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[1] *Cf.* p. 46.

TABLE XIX

OPINION OF GUILDSMEN REGARDING THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE GUILDS

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	Indicate increase in membership, business, etc.	Stationary	Indicate decline in membership, business, etc.
Craft			
Awning makers			x
Confectionery Makers			x
Carpenters	x		
Cloth Pasters			x
Cloisonné Designers			x
Dyers	x		
Leather Box Makers		x	
Masons	x		
*Mat Tent Builders			
Paper Hangers			x
Painters			x
Tinkers	x		
Shoe Fasteners			x
Silk Thread Makers	x		
Tailors	x		
Table and Chair Makers	x		
	7	1	7
Commercial			
Clock Stores	x		
Cloth Stores			x
Coal Stores			x
Confectionery Stores			x
Dye Stuff Stores			x
Fur Stores			x
Hat Stores			x
Leather Stores			x
Mutton Shops		x	
Oil Stores	x		
Pork Shops		x	
Rice and Flour Stores		x	
Restaurants	x		
Satin and Silk Stores	x		
Second-hand Clothes Stores	x		
Shoe Stores		x	
*Sweet Oil Stores			
Vegetable Stores		x	
	5	4	7

* Gave no reply.

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TABLE XIX—*Continued*

	Indicate increase in membership, business, etc.	Stationary	Indicate decline in membership, business, etc.
Professional			
Actors	x		
Barbers	x		
Blind			x
Cooks			x
*Story Tellers			
Waiters	x		
Kitchen Coolies	x		
Porters			x
	4	0	3
Total	16	5	18

* Gave no reply.

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and (b) the fact that the activities of the Peoples Party in organizing labor have up to the present been largely confined to Southern and Central China.

A more extensive study of guild operation will also afford a perspective from which we may the easier detect the connection between the impact of the various forms of Western cultural inter-penetration[1] and the modifications and transformations in guild organization and life.

Before taking up this broader treatment, however, it will be of advantage to give the Peking guildsmen's own impressions as to the status of their organizations.

A. PEKING GUILDSMEN'S IMPRESSIONS OF THE STATUS OF THEIR OWN GUILDS

The representatives of eighteen guilds maintain that membership is dropping off and that business is growing worse. Many of this group go into details regarding the lack of interest in the guild, assert that the members no longer consider it worth while to attend meetings. An almost equal number, sixteen, indicate that membership is increasing and that business is improving, while five declare their guild to be operating about as usual. 441* 467*

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 36-43.

B. What is Happening to the Guilds

We have already listed the seven types of guilds existing in China which have been described by various authors.[1] In considering what is at present happening to the guilds we shall deal only with those of economic nature, omitting "The Religious Fraternity" and the purely social Provincial Guild.

The Guild Merchants of Newchwang, Ningpo and Canton are disappearing. Dr. Ta Chen[2] reports that "even the great guild of Newchwang has lost a great deal of control in industry, commerce and labor." Dr. Chen does not analyze the circumstances that have caused this loss of power on the part of what were formerly very strong organizations. It is evident, however, that the three cities in which these great guilds are situated have in recent years become great centers both of foreign trade and of modern factory industry. This development would make the maintenance of such 441* 467* 477

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 16-18.

[2] Dr. Ta Chen is professor of sociology at Tsing Hua, the American Indemnity College in Peking. He received his doctor's degree at Columbia University in the Department of Social Science. Since his return to China he has become a recognized authority on the modern labor movement in his country. Among his published pamphlets are *Analysis of Strikes in China from 1918 to 1926*, published by the Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information, and a monograph *The Labor Movement in China*, prepared for the Institute of Pacific Relations, held in July, 1927, in Honolulu.

In reply to our inquiry Dr. Chen sent a long and detailed letter, dated Dec 11, 1927, dealing especially with the future of the guilds. Much of our material on this subject is derived from this letter.

*441 monopolies as these organizations formerly held extremely
*467 difficult. The various circumstances affecting the craft and
[477] commercial guilds, described below, undoubtedly have had
their effects on these larger associations.

The term " guild " when used without qualification in the following analysis will refer to the craft, professional and commercial guilds of the types included in this study and also to the provincial guild of the economic type.

In portraying the extremely complicated changes taking place in these guilds all that is here attempted is to point to certain definite trends at present apparent and then attempt to formulate therefrom general principles which may guide us in our predictions.

I. CERTAIN GUILDS ARE DISCONTINUING

a. There is a total disappearance of a large group of Peking craft guilds, the manufactured products of which are no longer in demand.

[326] (1) The Brass Wash Basin Guild formerly made the substantial wash-bowl commonly used in Chinese homes. The modern enameled wash-pan, both cheaper and lighter, has completely taken its place. The guild has disappeared.

[302] (2) The guild made up of markers of the colored thread formerly woven into the queue, dissolved when the style of hair-dress changed.

(3) The makers of the old-fashioned tobacco pouch, which was used also for carrying money, no longer find a sale for their goods as modern styles have displaced the older model.

[411] (4) The Sword Guild disappeared when the demand for this weapon decreased.

Many other guilds for similar reasons are showing signs of a fast-approaching disappearance. The guilds are de-

creasing in size and have held no meetings for some years. 441*
Among these guilds are the following groups: 467*

(1) When the old style hair-nets became obsolete the guild that made them naturally ceased to function.

(2) The standardization of coinage by the use of the [326]
Chinese silver dollar has greatly lessened the work of the silver refiners. Formerly, when the silver tael was in common use, these craftsmen were kept extremely busy. The Silver Refiners Guild has been practically discontinued.

(3) As coal has gradually taken the place of charcoal, formerly used in the old-fashioned hand-stoves, the Charcoal Guild has weakened.

(4) Large numbers of embroiderers were formerly en- [531]
gaged in beautifying the costumes worn by members of the Court and prominent Manchu families. With the change of the government system and the consequent loss of power and wealth of former patrons, the demand for embroidery has greatly lessened. This guild has had no meeting since 1900.

(5) It was the custom in the Manchu regime for much 441*
of the tribute from the provinces to be paid in rice. The 467*
grain was stored in the government granaries and sometimes 651
kept for many years. When sold it was considered a special delicacy. The merchants who sold this government grain composed what was known as the *Lao Hang* or Old Rice Guild. With the fall of the Manchu dynasty the payment of tribute rice was discontinued, the guild disappeared.

(6) With the increasing use of automobiles and the build- 441*
ing of street railway lines, the use of horses and carriages 467*
has decreased. With the coming of the Republican regime the large groups of outriders that formerly accompanied the members of the Court when they passed through the Peking streets are no longer to be seen. The Horse Shoe Guild has, therefore, for all practical purposes, ceased to operate.

*441 *467 (7) With the increasing use of foreign-style caps, straw hats and other Western headgear, the Hat Guild found diminishing sale for its products, the old-style Chinese skullcaps. This guild has consequently had no meetings for several years.

*441 *467 439 288 b. In some cases in which products formerly sold exclusively in China are now exported in large quantities, the home guild loses its power and disintegrates. We fortunately have a very careful analysis at hand of the break-up of the Peking Rug Guild.[1] Probably the main reason for the disappearance of this guild was the fact that when the foreign buyer wished to purchase rugs in large quantities the prospect of very large profits to individual rug merchants induced the latter to disregard guild regulations. Another circumstance which complicated the situation was that two large rug factories were organized by Westerners who were in close contact with the foreign market and who, naturally, had no interest in the native Chinese guild. The largest Chinese rug manufactory in the city was managed by foreign educated Chinese who, because of knowledge of English and personal connections, found it easy to deal directly with the buying agents of large American stores. This firm controlled the output of a large proportion of the small rug shops of the city. As foreign trade increased the former small shop system gave place to larger manufacturing units. Eleven of the 206 shops in Peking employed 1,035 of the total 1,768 journeymen in the entire industry.

In 1914 the rug industry had developed to such an extent that a number of the owners of shops felt the need of a protective organization. Chi Chang-yun, one of the oldest rug manufacturers in Peking, was instrumental in its formation. Of the immediate effect of this on the industry, the Government Bureau of Economic Information (Bulletin No. 12, Series,

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[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18.

March 10, 1922) says; "The regulations that were drawn up stated a uniform price of $4.50 per square foot of 90 threads to the foot. This ruling was respected for more than a year, but gradually some manufacturers, out of self-interest, disregarded the provisions and reduced prices when opportunities for increased business presented themselves. . . . Out of 354 members only 40 have remained in the organization." Since that time the guild has further disorganized, and today operations are practically suspended.[1]

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An analysis of the failure of this original Rug Guild shows the principal factors leading to its dissolution to be as follows:

(1) Self-interest on the part of the large rug factory owners.

(2) The establishment by the guild of a selling rate per foot which was far from what could be called a "competitive rate" and which could not be maintained without monopoly control impossible to establish.

(3) Lack of means of enforcing decisions. It set a certain standard for both prices and qualities of rugs, but the individual merchant frequently used a poor quality of wool. There was no way the guild could enforce its decisions except by expelling the member from the guild, and this was not effective because the organization was not strong enough to prevent him from starting up independently.

(4) The lack of any benefit to the skilled worker in connection with the guild. With the coming of the large factory units the old face-to-face relationship between employer and employee lost its former significance and the journeyman had no longer any important part in the common deliberations of the group. The four largest rug factories employed respectively 120, 145, 190 and 240 men where formerly groups included from 6 to 24 workers.

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[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

*441 Further details of this disintegration follow:

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288 The meetings, formerly held every month, have been discontinued. Old apprenticeship rules hold and boys are still exploited, so that the phrase "three years and one festival," which is the length of their term, often results in an extension to four years by the addition of time penalties before completing apprenticeship. These apprenticeship rules no longer hold as guild rules, but as a personal contract between the guarantor of the apprentice and his employer. A few owners have broken away from these practices and now pay the apprentices small amounts.

As the industry now exists in Peking, neither the workers nor the employers have any type of protective or cooperative organization. Individualism is rampant. The exploitation of laborers, the working of small shop managers on a small margin, and free competition in the export field are likely to continue until there is some form of organization to exercise control.[1]

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*467 c. Some guilds disappear when foreign factories established in China produce more efficiently and cheaply what was formerly made by the guild.

In reply to an inquiry sent to the Government Bureau of Economic Information in Peking regarding what happens to guilds when modern factories begin to produce by machinery what was formerly the product of the guild, we received from Mr. M. A. Gilbert the following information, in a letter dated February 21, 1928:

> Nobody in Shanghai industries can give a definite answer to this question. According to those who have made studies in Shanghai labor, the disappearance of guilds seems to have begun 6 or 7 years ago. Many Shanghai factories came into existence long before that. So it is hardly correct to say that the factories caused their disappearance. The appearance of modern factories drove many workshops out of existence, and when these

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[1] Chu and Blaisdell, pp. 17-18.

went, the guilds went with them. Another factor is the organization of modern labor unions in the factories. Through these two factors, the appearance of unions and disappearance of workshops, the factories indirectly affected the guilds. 441* 467*

Without splitting hairs over the exact meaning of the terms "cause" and "effect" it may be said that the disappearance of the former Cotton-Cloth Guild of Shanghai (which undoubtedly existed) is correlated with the rise of the modern cotton factory.

2. NEW GUILDS ARE BEING FORMED

With the increasing demand for new products and appliances, new types of craft and commercial guilds are appearing. The electricians of Peking work in small-shop units and both sell electrical supplies and do electrical fitting work. They are organized along the same lines as the ordinary Peking commercial guild, as are also the sellers of automobiles and bicycles. 441* 467* 393

3. CERTAIN TYPES OF MODERN INDUSTRY ARE UNSUITABLE FOR GUILD ORGANIZATION

Certain types of modern industry at present being organized in China are by their nature unsuitable for guild organization, such as the railways, mines and post offices. In these activities the workers' organizations are merely imitations of those found in the West, namely, labor unions. 441* 467*

Some arguments have been advanced as to why in these industries the union is preferred to the gild: (1) the gild is usually organized on the basis of the craft which is disadvantageous to the workers in a modern industry which frequently includes several crafts. In case of a strike, the consent of several crafts will have to be secured, which is inefficient.. This inefficiency may be eliminated if an industrial union is organized. (2) The autocracy of the master in the old gild is sometimes intolerable. In the modern labor union, members seem to have more freedom.

*441 *467 In the gild, questions of price-fixing, wages and hours of labor, were frequently decided by the master although these were also brought out for discussion at general meetings. Today in the labor union, these questions are subjects of public discussion by the members.

Consequently the modern labor union is usually found in modern industries.[1]

4. SOME GUILDS ARE REORGANIZED TO MEET THE CHANGING SOCIAL SITUATION

a. Change in the form of work. We have already noted that carpenters[2] have in recent years learned an entirely new technique of building. Many carpenters can now construct Western-style houses and make furniture of foreign design. In like manner, many iron workers have learned to use Western tools and to make repairs on Western-style [305] machines. The Barbers Guild of Peking for a number of years was discontinued because its members did not understand the art of the Western hair-cut. Many of them have now learned the new technique and now the reorganized guild has among its members both the old-fashioned itinerant barber, who shaves the head and arranges the queue, and also workers in the modern-style barber shops.

*441 *467 b. Structural differentiation. We have already indicated[3] how the changes in the Rug Guild as the size of the shops enlarged tended to divide the interests of workmen and masters. Recently the Incense and Cosmetic Guild of Peking, in which the employers and employees still belong to the same organization, has instituted the practice of separate meetings for the two groups.[4]

The Incense Burners Guild of Hangchow has started the plan of having the employers meet alone to discuss affairs that affect them only. In like manner there is a special meeting for the employees if the subjects under discussion relate to them alone.

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[1] Letter from Ta Chen, *cf.* footnote on p. 217.

[2] *Cf.* p. 102.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 167-168.

[4] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

In Canton this differentiation has gone even farther. In associations organized for shop employees, the counter clerks and other workers may join, but the shop owners are excluded. Gradually, then, the old organization is dividing into two groups: the employers' associations and the associations for industrial workers.

There is, in some cases, an attempt to maintain the old guild form and merely to revamp the regulations to meet modern conditions. The revised regulations of the Bristle Guild of Shanghai (1920) is a case in point. Certain rules of the modern labor union have been adopted and some antiquated regulations of the old guild dropped.

5. THERE IS FUSION OF SOME GUILDS WITH MODERN LABOR UNIONS

Many of the old guilds have been reorganized in modern form, especially in Canton. It would be more nearly correct to say that while the membership of the old organization is included in the new one, the old guild has been completely replaced by a new type of association.

There is obviously a very close relation between the craft guild and the trade union. The promoters and organizers of the Chinese labor movement were quick to see the possibilities of such reorganization. A survey of 180 labor unions conducted by the city government of Canton and reported March, 1927, shows that 74 of these are reorganized guilds.[1]

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[1] A detailed description of the modern labor movement is given by Dr. Ta Chen in the reference already cited and in an article written by by S. K. Sheldon Tzo, technical adviser to the Minister of Agriculture, "The Unionization of Labor in China," *Monthly Labor Review*, Washington, D. C. (Vol. 25, No. 5, November, 1927).

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We are not always clear as to the exact nature of the reorganization here reported. It must be kept in mind that promoters of the modern labor movement are frequently students, other intellectuals or officials of the Peoples Party. The resultant reorganizations must therefore be characterized as from the top, down. There appears to have been a great desire on the part of certain southern governmental groups to secure the support of organized labor. The new structure, however, undoubtedly facilitates the growth of a self-conscious labor group.

In many other places in China besides Canton there has been an endeavor on the part of the Peoples Party (*Kwo Min Tang*) to organize labor into a unified body which would give political backing to their organization. Mr. Wang Wen Sen, a college graduate, a resident of Hankow, gave the following description of the methods of government agents in "reorganizing the guilds." In Hankow, in 1926, labor organizers went to the tailors and promised that if their guild were reorganized according to new rules, prices and wages could be raised and the guild officially represented in the Bureau of the Government which regulates labor. These agents also went to the employees working in the bathhouses and told them that if they would agree to the reorganization of the guilds on the lines desired, soap and towels for their patrons would thereafter be supplied, not by them, but by their employers. On the other hand, they assured the employers that they would support a demand for increased prices. They were also promised a representative in the Labor Bureau. These agents first attempted to persuade the workers and employers to carry out their plans. Later, if the suggestions were not complied with, they were given a definite date on which regulations must be obeyed. After that date delay was reckoned a legal offense. The Wuhan Printers Union in their strike in 1926 made demands which included the paying of wages to apprentices and the limitation of the proportion of apprentices to journeymen. 441* 467*

Certain of the provincial guilds are combining to form industrial unions. Dr. Chen describes the difficulty in overcoming provincial feeling among the employees of the shipping industry. Chinese seamen are for the most part from Canton, Ningpo and Tientsin. The attempt to organize these three groups into one industrial union has not proved very successful up to date. To use Dr. Chen's expression: "The clannishness of the Chinese is proverbial and their habits are hard to change."

6. THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM IS UNDERGOING MODIFICATION

Certain types of modern education are undermining the power of the guild master to control the apprentice system. For example, the vocational training schools in Shanghai and vicinity are teaching trades by using modern methods of instruction. Unfortunately the graduates of these schools are sometimes refused admission to the guilds on the ground that they have not gone through the usual apprentice period. Partly in order to solve this problem, the schools are inviting masters of trades to teach a few hours a week, in the hope of making a nexus between the school and the industry. 441* 467* 871

7. MODIFICATION OF THE GUILD SYSTEM OWING TO MODERN CHINESE LAW AND REGULATION

In former times the government took a *laissez-faire* attitude toward the guilds, allowing them to control trade and commerce very much along their own lines. In recent years, especially since the founding of the Republic, there has been an increasing tendency to regulate trade and industry. 441* 467* 656

In this study we have noted the objection on the part of the Peking police to the inflicting of punishment on their own members by guildsmen. The endeavor on the part of the

*441 *467 local government to impose taxes on guild products or on sales has also been described.

656 The national and provincial governments have taken an active part in the promotion of chambers of commerce in China. Yuan Shih Kai, when Governor of Shantung, in 1900, suggested the organization of a chamber of commerce for the whole province. By 1915, 869 such chambers had been established, representing 230,431 shops. In 1911, after the Revolution, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce was given supervison of these commercial bodies, and in 1914, that ministry promulgated a series of regulations for them.

> A chamber of commerce, according to these regulations, is a group of business men who are either officers of corporations, representatives of gilds, or men who are independently interested in industrial or commercial enterprises, who have not been deprived of their rights of citizenship, who have not outstanding any uncanceled decree of bankruptcy, and who are not afflicted with nervous diseases.[1]

> The duties of these chambers of commerce are minutely prescribed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. They include such items as the following: consulting about industrial and commercial reforms; furnishing information to officials about commercial and industrial questions; settling industrial and commercial disputes at the request of interested parties; being responsible for maintaining order when there is a money panic.

*441 *467 656 698 Directors of the chambers of commerce are entrusted with the duty of carrying out all these functions except that relating to the settlement of disputes between merchants or between merchants and workmen. For this purpose a few of its more prominent members are selected to act as judges.

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, p. 205.

Under the Republic the Ministries of Justice and of 441*
Agriculture and Commerce have made very careful regula- 467*
tions concerning this court.[1] Only cases important to com- 656
merce may be brought to this tribunal. All decisions may 698
be appealed to a government court.

The effects of the organization of the Chamber of Com- 441*
merce and of these related courts upon the functions and 467*
operations of the commercial guilds is very great. In Peking the commercial guilds, formerly isolated bodies, have become related to a more inclusive group, with a larger program and interest. Our reports indicate again and again the growing power of the Chamber of Commerce over the activities of local guilds. Taxes are paid through the Chamber of Commerce. Inter-guild disputes, formerly settled by informal groups of neutral guildsmen, now go to the Chamber of Commerce Court. Contests with the officials, formerly waged by each small organization independently, are now conducted by this union of all the trades of the city. It must further be remembered that these local chambers of commerce are related to the provincial and national organizations. This whole plan has the result of breaking up the localism and petty interest of the original commercial groups.

In the regulations of the Department of Agriculture and 441*
Labor of the Peoples Party there is a clause that forbids 467*
official sanction (registration) to any union if in its con- 656
stitution there is found a stipulation of compulsory membership. In the past it was a chief source of strength to the guilds that they could force all craftsmen or those of the same occupation in the local area to become guildsmen. In these new organizations, many of which are reorganized guilds, such a practice is forbidden by law.

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, Appendix, National Regulation for Chamber of Commerce Courts and Detailed Rules of Chamber of Commerce Courts.

8. PRESENT POLITICAL TRENDS ARE AFFECTING THE ORGANIZATION OF GUILDS

*441 *467 656 Up to the present the policies and programs of the Peoples Party have affected the industrial and commercial life of Peking very little, if at all. The Northern capital has in recent years remained under the control of the more conservative Northern militarists. For the most part, there has been a rigid suppression of any attempt in the North China area to organize labor, although some organization has taken place among the miners and railroad employees. The Peoples Party in South and Central China has as its avowed policy the improvement of the conditions of life among laborers. This party and the broad outlines of its policy are the best contemporary embodiment of the aspirations of new National China. These policies are likely eventually to modify commercial and industrial life in Peking as elsewhere in China. We are, therefore, going into some detail in describing the policy of the *Kuo Min Tang* government toward labor and industrial questions.

Although many of the regulations below mentioned pertain primarily to unions rather than to guilds, the growing control of the government, especially in South China, over all industrial and commercial undertakings is seen by the following statements quoted from Dr. Chen's letter:

> (1) Relationship between the party and the workers: In the party there is a section on labor which is charged with the duty of looking into urban and rural labor matters. Since 1924 when the party platform was modified, there are two articles concerning labor (both are in the part concerning internal affairs). Article 10 states in substance that the Kwo Min Tang pledges to reform village organizations and to improve peasants' living conditions. Article 11 says that the party resolves to enact labor laws for the improvement of the worker's life, to protect labor organizations and to assist in their general develop-

ment. From these stipulations it is seen that there is a very 441*
direct relationship between the party and the workmen. But it 467*
must also be pointed out that the party has more laws and regulations 665
on the labor unions than on the gilds. This may be explained by the fact that the Kwo Min Tang has been struggling hard to reorganize the gilds into unions, and that in as far as those regulations do not prohibit gilds they are also applicable to the gilds.

(2) Basis of organization is industrial rather than trade: This means that the Kwo Min Tang encourages the craft gilds to change into industrial unions, if it is possible for them to do so. In Nov. 1924, the late party chief promulgated trade union regulations, including the following provision, which in effect states that the party encourages the principle of organization of trade unions by industry, with the possibility, in view of the importance of handicrafts among Chinese industries, of organization also by craft. Here we see the party's emphasis upon industrial unions.

(3) Legality of the strike: The gild infrequently used the 441*
strike because strike as a method of improving the workers' condition 467*
was prohibited (and still is) by Chinese law—especially 665
the Penal Code and police regulations. But in the labor union 468
regulations of 1924 above referred to, the strike is declared lawful.

(4) Abolition of compulsory membership.

(5) Arbitration by government commission: This is provided 441*
for in the commercial and industrial disputes provisional 467*
regulations of Dec. 1926. The scope of these regulations covers
four classes: merchants, small merchants in handicrafts (who 665
employ three men or less per shop), labor unions and public 698
utilities. The arbitration board is organized as follows: One member is appointed by the government, two members are selected from the interested parties. If the dispute involves more than two parties their delegates may be increased. When a decision is handed down by the commission, it is binding on all parties concerned, and the government will enforce the decision by compulsion if necessary.

*441 Now in order to understand the Kwo Min Tang regulations
*467 above given, certain other regulations of the Republic[1] may be
665 mentioned:

(1) Apprenticeship: in Merchant Regulations, it is declared that commercial apprenticeship is effected by contract. The employer must train the apprentice regarding the trade, and also give time for education. In case the contract is not signed, terms of apprenticeship may also be determined by custom or trade regulations.

(2) Employers associations: There are two types of such organizations in China: One type is provided for in the Chamber of Commerce Regulations, which were promulgated in Feb. 1916; another type is provided for in the Industrial and Commercial Association Regulations, which were promulgated in April, 1918, and revised in April, 1923. In the last-named regulations, it is explicitly stated that these regulations are not applicable to the laborers, including the workers in the handicrafts. In other words, laborers cannot be taken in as members of these associations. But for the present, the guilds are permitted to exist.

*441 *Summary.*—Some of the outstanding trends of guild
*467 transformation both in Peking and in other parts of China which we have been describing in the last eight sections may be summarized briefly as follows:

Some types of guilds are disappearing, while on the other hand certain new guilds of workmen manufacturing or selling new types of commodities are being formed on the old lines of organization. Some craft guilds are changing their processes of manufacture to meet new demands. In many guilds there is coming to pass structural differentiation, the employers and the laborers forming their own respective groups either voluntarily or by compulsion of law. Especially in South and Central China many of the guilds

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[1] The reference is to the Peking Republican Government first established in 1912.

are being reorganized into labor unions. The laws and 441 *
regulations both of the Republic and of the Peoples Party 467 *
are restricting more and more the activities of both the craft and the commercial guilds and are making impossible many practices formerly common to the guilds. Compelling membership for all working in the same trade in a given area is forbidden. Strikes of workmen against employers formerly forbidden by law are now allowed. Guild courts are no longer allowed to punish offenders, and in the case of the commercial guilds, the courts of the Chamber of Commerce are largely taking the place of the old guild tribunals. The Chamber of Commerce Movement is enlarging the horizon of those engaged in commerce and gradually creating among the commercial guilds a provincial and national outlook where formerly there was only local interest.

C. CONTEMPORARY MOVEMENTS AND THE GUILDS

The transformation of guild organization and function, 441*
just described and summarized has a distinct relation to 467*
the various modern movements and changes which were 178
outlined in the introduction.[1] With the possible exception of (8), improvements in public health, changes in the life of these institutions may be correlated with each one of the fifteen new tendencies enumerated. It must be acknowledged that the sanitary arrangements of Peking shops do not seem to have been affected by the modern movement for sanitation, nor by the health center in the East City. Setting aside this exception it is possible to show that recent general trends have not been without their effect on the subject of this study.

(1) Although it is true that in the Peking guilds themselves as yet modern Western-educated men have played a very small part, the prominence among the technicians and

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 37-43.

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managers of the factories of the port cities of men educated in the universities of Europe and America or in the colleges of China, has undoubtedly been one of the factors making for the efficiency and expansion of the factories, which in turn have been successful competitors to the craft guilds. (2) The new educational system with its technical schools and colleges has already modified the apprentice system of Shanghai, while modern educated students with knowledge of the Western labor movement have played leading parts in organizing labor throughout China. (3) The improvement in the technical branches of the government evidenced especially in the reorganization of judicial procedure has had a direct effect in its regulation of the Chamber of Commerce Courts. (4) The extension of the telegraph and postal service; (5) the increased mileage of railroads; and (6) the building of good roads have facilitated the increase of domestic trade, both in home-manufactured and in imported goods, which in turn has enlarged the scope of activity of the commercial guilds, and has helped to introduce new products made at a distance which successfully compete with local craft-made goods. (7) The efficient police system of Peking has forbidden the old guild punishments, and now has a police representative at every guild meeting to see that affairs are carried on in an ordinary manner.

(9) The information gained by the geological survey is basic because of the light it has thrown on the mineral resources of China as an aid in the development of modern industry, which in turn affects the guilds.

(10) The increase of exports and imports has directly affected guild life. For example, the large exportation of Peking rugs and relationships resulting therefrom were the principal reasons for the breaking up of the rug guild, while the Brass Wash-Basin Guild disappeared when the cheaper enameled imported utensil was introduced into the market.

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(11) The Renaissance Movement, with its emphasis on the archaic and harmfully conservative character of the paternalistic system, whether in village, clan or guild, and its output of literature in the form of books, pamphlets or articles in the daily press advocating a reorganization of the industrial system, the necessity of a labor movement and the need of newer and more efficient methods of production, has had a powerful, though an indirect effect on the present trend of guild transformation. (12 and 13) In the nation-wide demonstrations of protest against " foreign aggression " as exemplified in the Shanghai shooting incident of May 30, 1925, local federations composed of representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, the Student Union and other organizations, took the lead. The driving force came from the students, but the stability and to a large extent the funds for such demonstrations came from the Chambers of Commerce, composed largely of guildsmen. The new nationalism is creating a wider and more than local interest among the members of the commercial guilds. (14) The direct effect of modern factories on guilds has been indicated in many connections, while (15) the new labor movement, partly an inevitable complement to the new industry and partly artificially stimulated by the new political groups, has gained momentum and is including within itself many reorganized guilds.

When asked to describe what he considered the principal cause for the weakening of authority and of morale in the Peking guilds, Mr. H. C. Chang replied that an expression he had often heard the guildsmen make would most directly answer this question: "*Che chi nien jen hsin huai la,*" or "During these recent years men's hearts are defective or impaired." He went on to explain that this expression signified that while formerly the individual conformed passively to common practice, nowadays no one knew where to find

*441 his guildsmen. During recent years there has been no de-
*467 pendence on what any one would do; each seemed interested
178 only in his own affairs. It is the general feeling that group cohesion is breaking up, and new ideas of individual initiative are evident in the practices of the guildsmen.

D. The Probable Future of the Peking Guilds

There is no indication from the facts gathered from our study that there is any great change taking place in the professional guilds. Inasmuch as these workers are not related to factories or commerce and as there is no large financial investment required in their activities, it is quite probable that they will continue to operate very much as they have heretofore. They may be reorganized into trade unions or some new form of professional association, but the activities of the groups will be little changed, as very distinct differentiation between employer and employee is not essential in most of the professions of the type we have been studying.

It seems probable that eventually the craft guilds in their present form will entirely disappear or be reorganized into labor unions. It is possible that there may be amalgamation of certain groups, such as those engaged in the building trades, into industrial unions. It is at least possible that such a union might maintain the form of a guild where contractors and workers together determine the common policy, along the lines of the Builders Guild in England.

Guilds whose products come into competition with Chinese factory-made articles are likely to disappear entirely. Guilds whose products are sold in large quantities to the foreign market are unlikely to continue because of the new relationships with the foreign trader.

The great majority of the craft guilds will probably be reorganized into labor unions, while the employer class related to such guilds will form employers associations.

Among the commercial groups it seems probable that the same differentiation will take place: the managers of each trade will have their own associations with representation in the Chamber of Commerce and the workers will form their own trade unions.[1] 441* 467* 178

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[1] It is assumed that the organization of new guilds in Peking such as the electricians, the bicycle and the automobile guilds is merely an indication of conformity on the part of these tradesmen to common commercial organization and that the tendencies toward guild disruption will eventually affect these groups also.

CHAPTER XIV

PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES

*441 *467 In dealing with the probable future of the guilds the conclusion indicated was that with the possible exception of the professional type these organizations, in their present structural form, will eventually disappear. A question of perhaps greater importance is whether the values of the old institutions already described will also disappear when formal organization disintegrates or is transmuted, or whether certain of the values of the old guilds will be incorporated in the new industrial and commercial life. Is such a synthesis possible?[1]

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040 [1] There are evidences in other phases of the contemporary cultural transformation in China that such a synthesis of the values and methods of East and West is being achieved.

The article written by Professor J. B. Taylor on "Denmark and Rural China" (*Chinese Social and Political Review*, Peking, vol. xii, no. 1, Jan., 1928, pp. 116-129) illustrates from another field the type of synthesis here suggested. Professor Taylor, thoroughly familiar with the rural problems of China through long experience and study, has made a careful investigation of the rural cooperative movement in Denmark. Basing his conclusions on a knowledge of the structure of Chinese village life and on the methods and problems of Chinese agriculture, as well as on his research and study of the origin, history and present operation of Danish rural cooperation, he proposes a definite scheme of Chinese rural reconstruction.

452 In like manner, the International Famine Relief Commission in Peking, after a careful study of the economic conditions and social organization in famine areas, adapted the German *Raiffeisen* system of cooperative credit to Chinese needs. These cooperative societies are steadily increasing in number and are affording much needed relief to the farmers from the hitherto excessively high loan rates.

642 An illustration from the governmental field of such synthesis is the

A. THE VALUES OF THE GUILD SYSTEM

Without re-emphasizing[1] the socially harmful aspects and inherent limitations of these ancient institutions, certain of the values or socially beneficial features of guild life at its best may be summarized as follows: 441* 467*

1. Personal face-to-face relationship in local shops or stores that made possible friendly understanding between masters, journeymen and apprentices.

2. The relatively easy adjustment of difficulties between the employer and the employees and the absence of any considerable amount of class strife.

3. The equalization of opportunity afforded by the guild system for the capable to pass through the apprentice and journeymen stages to the position of master.

continuance under a Republican system of the Board of Censors composed of aged and respected officials who restrain and advise those actually in control of the Peking Government. The advocacy by the Peoples Party of the "Committee System" of government control corresponding to the village and town method of control by groups of elders and gentry, is another illustration of the incorporation of a very old and familiar governmental method in a Western-style political system. The plan of rotating chairmen in this Committee System is similar to that of guild organization. 642

The aim of the progressive Chinese leaders of the Christian Church is to create an "indigenous Church." Forms and ceremonies out of harmony with China's structural heritage are being discarded, and adaptations in Church organization and modes of worship are being made. 185

The necessity for reorganizing the educational system, which has been largely a direct copy from the West, and of adapting education to China's needs is recognized by such progressive educators as Dr. Chiang Men Lin, formerly Chancellor of the National Government University in Peking. 871

Remarkable efficiency and ingenuity in combining Chinese educational material with efficient Western educational method have been manifested by James Y. C. Yen and his corps of Western-trained Chinese educators in the Mass Education Movement, which in its organized classes throughout the provinces has enrolled over two million persons for the study of textbooks based on one thousand selected characters.

[1] *Cf.* p. 213.

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4. The maintenance of group "morale" resulting from the common interest in and responsibility for group affairs by masters and journeymen in the craft guilds and by the store managers in the commercial guilds.

5. The maintenance of group standards of conduct which were adhered to by the members.

6. Intra-group cooperation rather than competition, which tended to equalize the economic opportunities of the guild members.

7. A sense of creative accomplishment in manufacture in the craft guilds.

8. The unquestionable contentment and passive satisfaction of both workers and masters[1] certainly had its socially beneficial aspects in old China. To what extent this attitude will prove socially beneficial in the present day, is open to question.

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[1] "The Chinese is happy, not because he enjoys great material comfort, but because the accomplishment of his work goes hand in hand with a feeling of independence. He remembers the old Chinese philosophers who have taught him to appreciate the value of a simple life and of human dignity. . . . The mode of life of Chinese workers is as simple as that of the peasants—in fact, they were peasants before becoming factory workers. They do not seek material comfort to the same extent as do western workers: they ask neither pleasure nor leisure and are content with a wage which just enables them to live; but what they do claim is the right to be treated as human beings and not as machines. This is why it is not surprising that during the recent strikes at Shanghai, their chief demands were for fairer treatment by foremen and for the right to talk whilst working. Demands for increased wages and shorter hours, when they were made at all, were never considered of first importance. I mention these facts to exemplify the special character of the labor problem in China. I do not by any means consider the present state of affairs perfect, but wish clearly to establish the fact that modern industrial systems should adapt themselves to China, and not China to them." Quoted in *Some Aspects of the Labor Problem in China* (pp. 13-14) by P. Henry (Reprinted from the *International Labor Review*, vol. xv, no. 1, Jan., 1927) from a speech delivered by H. E. Chao Hsin Chu at the Eighth Session of the International Labour Conference.

B. THE PROBABLE EFFECTS OF THE NEW ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL TRENDS ON THE VALUES OF THE GUILD SYSTEM

Because of the extreme complexity of the political, eco- 441*
nomic and social changes now taking place in China, we 467*
cannot hope to arrive at any definite answer to the question 178
under discussion. We can, however, point out (1) what is happening to these "values" in places where modern industry and commerce are most highly developed, (2) the forces that are apparently operating in such a way as to destroy not only the guild structure but also the values inherent in them, and (3) those movements and tendencies that may serve as means for conserving certain of these values.

(1) SOCIAL RESULTS FOLLOWING THE BREAKING UP OF THE GUILDS AND THE COMING OF MODERN INDUSTRY

Child labor, unsanitary conditions, long hours and low pay 441*
are common both to the old guild system and to the modern 467*
factories.[1] In any given industry wages are probably slightly 178
higher in the factories than they were in the guilds.[2] Fac- 466
tory production in many cases brings a large number of industrial accidents,[3] an increase in tuberculosis,[4] the introduc-

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[1] P. Henry, *Some Aspects of the Labor Problem in China* (Geneva, 1927), pp. 14-15.

[2] Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18 and Lewis S. Gannett, *Young China* (New York, 1926), section v, "China: the World's Proletariat," pp. 18-22.

[3] "In November 1925 a little girl of 13 was found towards 2 o'clock in 466
the morning with her head crushed under a spinning machine in the Shanghai Cotton Mill. According to the foreman's report she had fallen asleep near the machine and had been scalped by a driving belt. Similar accidents had been reported in the Shanghai press a few months earlier —children having their lips and teeth torn away, little girls scalped, etc. Only one attempt has been made to compile accident statistics; the tables show that one-third of the children treated at the Industrial Hospital of Shanghai were totally disabled (the proportion in the case of women was

(For conclusion of this note (3) and note 4 see next page.)

*441 tion of woman labor in the factory (formerly they manu-
*467 factured only in the homes), night work for women and
178 children,[1] the concentration of large numbers of workers in
the large cities, with the attendant overcrowding and general
466 bad housing conditions.[2] Labor has been recruited in many cases by labor contractors who have profited by the low wages.[3] The large number of workers in the factory unit, added to the contract system, has destroyed the former close personal relation between master and men. These and many other changes in the life of the laborers, unmitigated by enforceable labor legislation,[4] have brought discontent and class hatred, with strikes that frequently result in bloodshed.[5]

668 The passivity of the workers is disappearing and a class-
565 conscious labor movement is developing. In the tending of
the machine the sense of creative accomplishment has gone.

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44 per cent); two-thirds of these children were victims of machinery accidents, the majority having received head or hand injuries. It was the night shifts which suffered most, as indeed happens wherever work is carried on continuously."—Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[4] Adelaide M. Anderson, *Humanity and Labour in China* (London, 1926), chap. vii, "Things Industrial Seen in China," pp. 163-202.

[1] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[3] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

668 [5] Ta Chen, *Analysis of Strikes in China from 1918 to 1926* (Shanghai, 1926) and *The Labor Movement in China*, pp. 19-20. Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21: "It is accordingly in modern factories, in spite of the immense superiority of their workshops as regards equipment, that the elements of revolt among the workers are fomented. Strikes and mutinies, the latter going so far as the assassination of foremen, increase year by year. The origin of these movements does not lie solely in the propaganda of a few leaders; they are also undoubtedly the outcome of too sudden a disturbance of the old equilibrium, of a certain social disorganization common to transition periods such as China is passing through under the influence of modern ideas, and even of the moral anarchy provoked in certain cases by the sudden abandonment of the family system."

Class solidarity is replacing guild solidarity among both man- 441*
agers and workers. Between factories competition is taking 467*
the place of the cooperation practiced within the guilds. The 565
organization of employers' associations and trade unions[1] 178
among the commercial groups and the increase in the size
of the trading houses and stores has tended to accentuate
class interest and destroy the former sense of trade solidarity.

(2) CONDITIONS UNFAVORABLE TO THE CONSERVATION OF THE OLD VALUES IN THE NEW ECONOMIC LIFE

The rapidity of the spread of the capitalistically controlled 178
factory system in its present form, accompanied until very recently by passive acceptance by the masses and an eager welcome by the intellectuals[2] and business men, and a general disregard on the part of both government and public of the social results of the industrial and commercial revolution, would seem to point in the direction of a complete destruction not only of the old organizations but also of the relation-

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 225-227.

[2] Mr. V. K. Ting, head of the Chinese Geological Survey, formerly mayor of Shanghai, in dealing with the recent changes in China, said: "Industrialisation based on modern science enables us to develop and utilize our natural resources on a large scale. . . . Even to a casual observer the phenomenal growth of the cotton mills must attract his attention . . . silk filatures have a similar story. . . . They represent only one phase of the general tendency of industrialization. . . . The development of the coal mining industry deserves special mention. Unlike the cotton and silk factories it has nothing to do with Treaty Ports. In 1911 there was not a single mine financed with Chinese capital and operated by Chinese engineers. . . . At present there are more than a dozen prosperous companies owned and operated by Chinese with an aggregate capital of 60 million dollars and a capacity of producing 8 million tons per annum out of the 14 million tons produced by all the modern mines in China. . . . Every new mine organized by the Chinese means a fresh training ground for mining students and every little lighting plant requires at least a skilled electrician. The result is that a nucleus of professional men has been created who will form the backbone of the future Chinese Republic." —Quoted in Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

178 ship and values associated with them, and to a gradual building up of a Western-style competitive industrial and commercial system.

The present lack of stability in the government of China gives little hope either of enforceable legislation to mitigate the harmful results of this rapid economic transformation or of control of industry and commerce. The continuance of the system of special exemption from taxation[1] of foreign merchants and manufacturers doing business in China, of foreign customs control and of foreign concessions, makes it still more difficult for the government to have any control of the course of the economic revolution.

As P. Henry has put it, the " crux of the whole matter " is the surplus of labor in the large cities. With several potential applicants for every job, no change for the better in the conditions of labor and no favorable reorganization of the structure of industry seem probable.[2]

(3) MOVEMENTS AND TENDENCIES THAT MAY SERVE AS A MEANS FOR CONSERVING CERTAIN VALUES OF OLD GUILD LIFE

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185 The independent efforts of socially-minded Chinese and foreign manufacturers to improve the conditions[3] of labor and the voluntary acceptance by many of them of the purely advisory standards regarding conditions and hours of labor promulgated by the Peking Government in 1923,[4] would indicate a hopeful interest on the part of many employers.

The intellectual and political leaders associated with the present nationalist movement have very definitely espoused

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[1] Raymond T. Rich, *Extraterritoriality and Tariff Autonomy in China* (Shanghai, 1925), pp. 46-7.

[2] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

the cause of labor.[1] They are discontented with the present 178
conditions of industry and many of them are opposed to the 185
present form of industrial organization and control. What form of labor legislation or what methods of industrial regulation and control they may eventually adopt depends largely on which of the various factions within the Peoples Party eventually controls that political group. But that continued efforts to mitigate the harmful social effects of the present economic revolution will be put forth, seems probable.

The Protestant Churches of China, as represented by the National Christian Council in Shanghai, in recent years have championed with considerable effect the reform in the con-

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[1] The following principles of the Nationalist Party related to matters of labor were worked out and adopted at a national conference of the *Kuo Min Tang* at Canton, August, 1926:

1. To enact labor legislation.
2. To enact an eight-hour day, and to prohibit work for longer than ten hours daily.
3. To work for a minimum wage.
4. To prohibit the use of child labor, the age limit being fourteen years.
5. To modify the existing apprenticeship system.
6. To provide for payment for sixty days for women workers at the time of childbirth.
7. To improve sanitation in industrial plants and to avert industrial accidents.
8. To provide for freedom of association, speech and press for all workers.
9. To advocate manhood suffrage.
10. To promote workers' education.
11. To promote cooperative societies.
12. To control conditions of "contract work," or farming out of work to home workers.
13. To recognize the legal status of trade unions.
14. To assist effective organizations of workers.
15. To obtain payment for workers for rest days and holidays.

Cf. also, Yang, Kwang Sheng, "The Growth of Nationalism," *Current History*, vol. xxvi, no. 3, pp. 250-263.

178 ditions of women and children in industry.[1] They recom-
185 mended to the International Missionary Council held at Jerusalem, March 24–April 8, 1928, that action be taken against certain features of the Western economic exploitation of peoples in China and elsewhere where early forms of industrial organization still largely prevail.[2] This recommendation met with favorable action on the part of the conference.

The advocates, both Chinese and Russian, of a system of industry and commerce modeled after that of Soviet Russia have since 1925 had considerable influence on an important faction in the Peoples Party. Although for the present this group has little power in China, there is no possible prediction as to its influence in the future.[3]

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[1] Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 91, 111, 124.

[2] *Findings of the National Conference of Christianizing Economic Relations*, Shanghai, Aug. 18-28, 1927, pp. 10-11.

"2. That there is need for more missionary work in the training of Christian industrial leaders for the purpose of bringing about favorable working conditions in all industries and promoting better relationship between employers and employees.

"3. That missionaries, and Christian people they represent, should exert their influence individually and collectively upon international trade, in order that trade which is harmful to the people of the buying countries may be restricted or abolished, while it is recognized that trade in useful commodities should be developed to the benefit of all concerned.

"4. That the missionary movement should use its influence to see that any foreign investments of capital in borrowing countries be made only on equitable terms of mutual benefit without any motive or possibility of political aggression.

"5. That when foreign industrial enterprises are established in countries where industrial conditions are less satisfactory, foreign employers should be encouraged to set a standard consistent with the best practices in their own countries and to use their influence towards the general applications of such standard.

"6. That the Christian Church should keep itself ready to cooperate with the labor movements which have for their chief object the improvement of the working conditions and the uplifting of the laborers."

[3] Monroe, *China: A Nation in Evolution*, pp. 209-233; Millard, T. F., *China—Where It Is Today and Why*, pp. 181-187; Nearing, Scott,

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It would, of course, be incorrect to characterize Russian influence and propaganda in China as definitely directed toward the conservation of the values of old Chinese industrial and commercial life. Soviet influence is, rather, simply another type of cultural interpenetration inducing China to adopt a particular Western economic and political system. Our justification for including the influences of Soviet Russia among the forces here listed is that this influence is directed against the exploitation of labor and that certain features of the Soviet system emphasize the importance of local group cooperation and deprecate unrestricted competition. These last-mentioned features have their counterpart in the old guild system.

Of importance to all groups seeking in any way to modify the existing conditions, processes and organization of industry and commerce along lines better adapted to ancient habits of thought and forms of social organization, is a thorough knowledge of the cultural and social background of China. The growing interest in social research in China is a factor in our problem.[1]

Whither China (New York, 1928), pp. 62-92; Gannett, Lewis S., *Young China* (New York, 1926), pp. 32-36; Chen, Ta, *The Labor Movement in China*, pp. 22-23.

[1] Franklin C. H. Lee, "The Social Survey Movement in China" (in Chinese), *Sociological World* (Peking), June, 1927, pp. 79-100.

The Chinese Mass Education Movement with its national organization in Peking and its program to eliminate illiteracy in China maintains a special research bureau of trained investigators who have been engaged particularly in rural research. In 1925 the China Foundation in Peking (supported by the interest on the second American Boxer Indemnity Refund) organized its Bureau of Social and Economic Research under the able leadership of Dr. L. K. Tao, formerly of the National Government University, Peking. Important investigations of rural industrial life and of the standard of living in North China are being conducted by this Bureau. The Institute of Pacific Relations which last met in Honolulu, July, 1927, has under way important research projects in China. The National Government University, Yenching University of

It is possible that reinforced by the dynamic driving power of an awakened nationalism and by the zeal of the reformer, a growing knowledge of the actual social and economic heritage and conditions in China coupled with equal familiarity with the economic history (a record of both success and failure) of the West and with contemporary movements in cooperative production and distribution and in modes of harmonious adjustment between capital and labor in Europe and America, might be so made use of in private enterprise or governmental activity that certain socially harmful steps in the economic reorganization of China might be skipped and a new Chinese economic order which conserves both the values of the old guild life and the values of efficient Western method might be developed.[1]

In the organization, control and conduct of industry and commerce, just what form such a synthesis of the values of East and West will take, it is of course impossible to predict. The variables in the situation are so numerous that even a rough forecast is precluded. Unless a stable government can be established and unless China regains her autonomy in economic and political action, little control of economic processes will be possible. Also, unless some means can be devised to reduce the surplus of labor in large cities, changes in the control and conduct of factory industry favorable to

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Peking, and other government and private educational institutions for a number of years have been conducting important studies of Chinese economic and social problems.

[1] Dr. J. L. Stuart, President of Yenching University, expressed one of the aspects of the nationalist awakening in China in the following words: "The surging tide of Chinese nationalistic self-consciousness has suddenly broken upon us, bringing an impassioned revulsion of feeling in favor of their own culture, a resentment of what seems to them like our denationalizing influence upon those with whom we have dealings, and of the whole political, commercial, religious and cultural exploitation of China by foreign countries."—"Western Students of Chinese Culture," the *New Mandarin*, vol. i, no. 1, Jan., 1926, p. 2.

labor will probably be extremely slow. An attempt to meet this last problem would involve dealing with the question of over-population and with methods of rural reconstruction. ooo.

In spite of all these difficulties those who are familiar with the rapid transformations and modifications in the life of the Chinese people during the last twenty years, and who have also an appreciation of the dynamic force of the new nationalism will consider it probable that the leaders of the united nationalistic China will endeavor to devise means for the control of the economic life of the new nation in such a way that the efficiency of the West and the human values of old China may be combined.

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APPENDIX

A. QUESTIONNAIRE ON GUILDS

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1. Name
2. Trade
3. Location of Guild Hall or of office if there is no hall
4. Telephone number
5. Name of head of the guild
6. Name of official in charge of the office

I. *The Purpose in Founding the Guild*

1. Maintaining prices
2. Protection from officials
3. Discouraging competition
4. Other purposes
   (In actual operation how far are these purposes fulfilled?)

II. *The History of the Guild*

1. Date of founding
2. The history previous to the definite organization
3. Main events of history after definite organization

III. *Membership*

1. Qualifications for membership
2. Methods of application for membership
3. Methods of election
4. Methods of initiation
5. Duties of members
6. Fees
7. Privileges of membership
8. Is the membership of the guild 100%? That is, are all persons engaged in a given occupation in the given area members of the guild?

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9. Of what does the membership consist? (a) Stores (b) Managers (c) Workers (d) Apprentices
10. Are guild members limited to a definite geographical area? If so, what area?
11. Is guild membership confined to members of a definite family?
12. In moving to another place, to what extent are guild memberships transferable?
13. How large an area is covered by the guild?

(After forming replies to the above questions, try to find out the following facts)

(a) In actual practice just what is the process by which a member is elected to the guild?
(b) How much does personal influence and connection count?
(c) In each store, who is the working member of the guild?
(d) Just how much good is the guild membership to the members?
(e) How deeply interested in the guild are the members?
(f) What is the underlying motive in the minds of guild members when they join the guild?
(g) How much do the members actually do for the welfare of the guild?
(h) Number of members in local guild

IV. *Officers*

1. Structural organization and list of the officers of the guild
2. Size of the Board of Directors
3. How are they elected?
4. Their term of office
5. Do they follow the principle of rotation in office?
6. Must the working men be definitely represented on the board?
7. Functions of the board members

8. Functions of other officials or boards
9. Procure a copy of the constitution of the guild, if possible

(After answering the above questions, try to obtain replies to the following)

(a) What type of men are actually elected to office?
(b) Is office sought by the members?
(c) Just how do the different officials function?
(d) How much actual power have they?

V. *Meetings*

1. Who are invited to attend meetings?
2. Are members compelled to attend meetings or to send their fees or do only members who attend meetings pay fees?
3. How often are meetings held?
4. Where are meetings held?
5. What subjects are discussed?
6. Outline of procedure of the meetings
7. How much of the following elements are combined at the time of the meeting: worship, entertainment, food, business?

(After answering the above questions try to secure replies to the following)

(a) Just how much is really accomplished by these meetings and how much is done by informal conferences or agreements?
(b) How well are meetings attended in actual practice?
(c) Are the regulations above described regarding payments of dues, etc., rea forced?

VI. *Income of the Guild*

1. Fees. Amount paid by (a) stores per year, (b) individuals per year, managers, workers and apprentices
2. Total income of the guild during its last year. Fees from stores, managers, workers, income from property, assessments, fines, other sources

3. Methods of collection

   (After answering the above questions try to find out how much in fines is imposed and actually collected and just what form of procedure is followed in the collection of these fines)

VII. *Apprenticeship*

1. How are apprentices secured?
2. Do parents pay for the privilege of having their sons become apprentices?
3. Term of apprenticeship
4. Contract between the apprentice and his parent or guardian and the store or company. Arrangements regarding clothes, food, etc.
5. Wages during apprenticeship. Hours of work, course of study covered
6. Has the guild certain rules for apprenticeship? If so, secure them.

   (After answering the above questions, try to find out how in actual practice apprentices are treated. What do they actually learn? To what extent have they personal freedom? What is the character of their food and living arrangements?)

VIII. *Functions of the Guild*

1. Fixing prices. (a) Methods used. (b) How often changed. (c) Under what conditions may an individual store sell at a price different from the fixed price? (d) What group determines the prices? (e) To what extent in actual practice are the above regulations carried out?
2. Standardization of goods. (a) What methods are used to insure standardizing of goods sold by the different members of the guild?
3. Hours of work

   What regulations regarding hours of work are there and how are they enforced?

4. What regulations are there regarding wages and how are they carried out?
5. What procedure is adopted by the guild relative to securing patents for their products? How effective is such procedure?

IX. *Relation of the Guild to Other Guilds*

1. Relation of the guild to the Chamber of Commerce
2. Relation of the guild to the police. Are the laws relating to the guild enforced by the police? Is there a system of taxation by the police? If so, state the amount of taxation and the method of collection
3. Relation to other agencies
4. Relations with guilds doing similar work
5. What relationships have the individual members of the guild with members of other guilds in similar lines?

   (After finding out these facts evaluate these different relationships. How much does each of them really amount to?)

X. *Discipline*

1. Courts

   (a) How organized. (b) Scope of its powers. (c) Place of meeting. (d) Time of meeting. (e) Functions. (f) Methods of enforcing its decisions. (g) What type of cases are referred to it?
2. Other methods of enforcing the will of the guilds. To what extent are the following methods used? (a) Boycott. (b) Strike. (c) Physical force. (d) Official influence. (e) When are these various methods of carrying out the guild's will used? Give concrete illustrations

   (After answering the above questions give replies to the following)

   - (a) How much actual power had the court above described?
   - (b) Is it able to enforce its decisions?

(c) In what way does it enforce its decisions?
(d) Describe the actual process of the guild's authority
(e) What is the real source of the guild's authority?
(f) To what extent do the following factors enter in: Fear, tradition, respect for superiors, mutual advantage, democratic desire, personal influence of leaders

XI. *Charity*

1. Describe the charity work done by the guild, its character and extent
2. How much is done under the following heads: Cemetery, medical relief, poor relief, insurance, etc.
3. Secure the regulations regarding charity work
4. During the last year how much money was secured for this type of work? For what was it spent and how was it administered?

XII. *Religion*

1. Give the name of the god of the guild
2. Find out the tradition regarding the religious practices of the guild
3. Religious meetings or ceremonies. Where held? What is done at these meetings? How often are they held?

   (After answering the above questions try to evaluate the real significance of these religious ceremonies. What is actually accomplished by them?)

XIII. *General Condition of the Guilds at Present*

1. Try as far as possible to trace the effect of modern changes on the membership of the guild, on the power of the guild, on the activities of the guild
   Is the guild increasing, decreasing or stationary in respect to any of the above points?
2. Try to analyze the causes for any of these changes
3. What future are you able to predict for the guild?

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B. HISTORICAL DATA REPORTED ON CERTAIN OF THE GUILDS

HAND-CRAFT GUILDS

Dyers.—In the Manchu dynasty the various stores made use of a large number of different colored dyes. There was a tax on the sale of such dyes which was collected by a certain individual known as the *Te-Chu* and given to the official tax-collector. Because of the exorbitant squeezing of this collector the various dye stores organized together to protect themselves. The guild was accordingly organized in 1913. The tax is now collected by the guild itself at a much lower rate than before. We are told that this association was "completely organized in 1916." Evidently the first efforts had to be supplemented by further organization.

Leather Box Makers.—The date of its founding is not known. We are told, however, that during the reign of Tao Kuang (1820-50) a prosperous store manager named Huang, who was famous for the excellent quality of the boxes he made, with his large profits "bought a piece of burial-ground and reorganized the guild." It is the testimony of a great many of the representatives of the different organizations interviewed that the members laid great emphasis on the privilege of burial in the guild's special plot of ground. The securing of a tract for this purpose was evidently made central in Mr. Huang's scheme for reorganization. This technique of making leather boxes, we are informed, originally came from Fukien.

Masons.—The date of its founding is too remote to trace, is the report of the guild representative. "The only thing that is clear is that because it became too loosely organized it was necessary during the reign of Hsien Fang (1850-60), in cooperation with the carpenters, to reorganize the guild." Again in this case our informer hazarded the guess regarding conditions before its founding. He tells us that the wages were different in each shop, that "there was no system among the workers; hence it was necessary to have such an association, to standardize wages, to worship the master, and to maintain fraternal relationships".

*467 *Tailors.*—This profession, we are told, originated in the South. The tailors who first came to Peking found it very difficult to find a lodging-place, so they called a meeting of their fellow tradesmen to discuss the difficulty. The first proposal was that one per cent of every one's salary should be given towards the organization of the guild and the building of a guild headquarters. This fund proved insufficient, so their customers were requested to contribute. With these funds the Guild House was established during the Ming Dynasty.

After the establishment of the guild it was found difficult to get any one to take charge of the Guild House and property. A monk was invited to do this. This custom has persisted to this day. During the Manchu Dynasty, we are told, the number of southern workers decreased in Peking; but there has been a large increase since the founding of the Republic in 1912.

Table and Chair Makers.—The exact date of founding is unknown, but it is believed to have been established during the reign of Tung Chih or Kuang Hsu (1860-1908). We are told that the guild was founded to secure protection against the *chiao-hang* note, or note of Board of Communications. (Means protest at being forced to receive at par value the bank-notes of the Board of Communications Bank.) Our informant thinks that one of the reasons for founding the guild was that formerly prices would be raised indiscriminately, causing much damage to the trade thereby.

Another reason given for the founding of the guild was the desire to limit the area in which tables and chairs were made to a definite section of the city. There was a tendency for carpenters in this occupation to spread out over the whole city of Peking. The merchants desired " to have a united trade-market." It is very evident that it was considerably easier to keep watch on fellow-tradesmen when they were nearby neighbors. In Peking to this day many trades are concentrated in definite areas, such as the lantern-makers, gold-workers, and bow-and-arrow makers. The names of the streets, in many cases, bear evidence to the character of the trade that was originally in that district. 467*

COMMERCIAL GUILDS

Mutton-Shops.—A meeting of the business men engaged in this trade was called in 1921 to discuss the establishment of such an association, but without success. In the spring of 1925, owing to the necessity of cooperating to withstand an increase in the sheep tax imposed by the Revenue Superintendent, the merchants "gathered together to protest." Nevertheless, in spite of the protest, taxes were raised 40 per cent. "Then the necessity of an organized body was realized; hence the association was established in October of the same year." This little incident is an illustration of one of the fundamental causes which have led to the formation of guilds—mutual protection against oppression on the part of the officials. 441*

Rice and Flour Stores.—Previous to the organization of this association the sellers of rice and flour belonged to the *Ma Wang Huei*, the *King Ma Association.* They had as their patron saint *King Ma.* This society is known to have existed during the reign of Hsien Feng (1850-60). In the second year of the Republic (1913) the present organization took the place of the older one. It is interesting to note that the religious features were entirely left out of the new organization.

An incident in the pre-organization days illustrates again the desire on the part of the merchants to defend themselves against the officials. The merchants were inspected twice a year to ascertain whether they had paid the customary taxes which were imposed whenever horses or mules were bought or sold. It was not uncommon for the inspector to claim that a horse or mule that had been owned for some time was newly purchased. He would forthwith

*441 inflict a heavy fine on the innocent merchant for not having paid his tax. "On account of the extortion the merchants organized the guild that they might stand against this persecution by the officials."

PROFESSIONAL GUILDS

*467 *Actors.*—Theatrical performances were originally provided only for the Court. The Actors Guild dates back to the arrival in Peking of four groups of Anhui performers who came there at the invitation of the Emperor Chien Lung. These groups were known as the *Ssu Hsi Pan, San Ching Pan,* the *Hsiang Tai Pan,* and the *Sung Chu Pan.* The association today is primarily composed of these four groups. The establishment of the guild, therefore, dates from this reign (1736-95).

It is reported to have been prosperous in the early years of its founding, but afterwards, owing to the fact that no one assumed definite responsibility, it had little vitality. A society known as the *Tien Shou Tang* was given the privilege of using the premises of the guild and in time it so thoroughly established its hold that it was in complete possession. Although every one knew the real ownership of this property, it could not be established because the deed had been lost by one of the Court eunuchs. In 1914 the actors' association was reorganized under the name of the Rectifying-Music and Educational Association (*Chung Yueh Yu Hua Hui*). This new society claimed the right to use this ancient property. The Supreme Court referred the matter to the General Chamber of Commerce of the capital to settle. The decision was a characteristic face-saving compromise: the property was recognized as belonging to the new association, but the *Tien Shou Tang,* because of its long tenure, had the right of permanently using it. Consequently the new association of actors found it necessary to build a new headquarters in the Southern City in 1924, known as the *Li Yuan Hsin Kuan.*

Kitchen Coolies.—During the reign of Kang Hsi (1661-1722) there were a number of workers in meat shops who became well acquainted with the various restaurant workers. These men were accustomed to carrying meat both to the restaurants and to the places where wedding and funeral ceremonies were taking place. Owing to lack of workers the restaurants hired these meat-carriers as regular employees. We are told that "at that time each man earned 25 coppers a day." Later, owing to the increase of laborers in the city, the guild was organized. A list of the names of the original officers is supplied. It is quite clear from the report that this guild was originally founded to protect the workers against the competition of the newcomers, and thus give them the virtual monopoly of their occupation. We are also supplied with the list of the officers during the reigns of Hsien Feng (1850-60) and of Kuang Hsu (1875-1908). The latter officers held over until 1915 when a new set of heads, five in number, were appointed.

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